Pronominal variation in Southeast Asian Englishes: the case of the second person plural form

Memòria d' investigació

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1. INTRODUCTION

When the American president John Adams (1735-1826) prophesied in the 18th century that English would become the most respected and universally read and spoken language in the world, little did he know that not only would it become the most important, but also the *lingua franca* that would allow non-native English speakers with different L1s to understand each other. Perhaps Adams, when he was playing the role of the prophet, thought about his mother tongue and his variety: American English, presumably not being able to imagine that so many different varieties of the English language would arise in the following three centuries.

This project, thus, is not about English, but about World Englishes, a discipline which started roughly around the 1980s, to study the emergent varieties of the English language and which nowadays has a blossoming literature on the topic. Concretely, it examines pronominal variation in East and South-East Asian Englishes, paying particular attention to the paradigm of the second person plural pronoun. This personal pronoun is traditionally ascribed to the traditional form *you*, used both for the singular and the plural. However, alternative forms to refer to the plural exclusively are also attested, as is the case of *you all*, *you guys* and *you people*, in which the pronoun *you* is reinforced by a plural marker (*all*, *guys* or *people*). The choice of the second person plural pronouns as object of study is justified by the existence of a gap in the pronoun paradigm of contemporary Standard English which motivates the emergence of alternative constructions to fill in this gap. Thus, specific forms for the plural were available in the history of English (cf. section 5) and have already been documented in Present-day English, especially in American English (Heyd 2010). In fact, the use of forms for the second person plural pronoun other than *you* is one of the most pervasive features listed by Kortmann and Lukenheimer (2011: feature 34) in *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (see section 5). In this reference the authors list up to 235 different non-standard linguistic features which occur in the Anglophone world, in up to 74 varieties (L1, L2, creole and pidgin languages). The feature under analysis here is also one of the most widely attested (90.5% of the varieties present it). This has motivated my interest in carrying out this study and therefore I decided to check the existence of alternative forms to the canonical *you* in emergent varieties of English. These varieties arose after a process of language contact in which the superstrate

language was not Present-Day English but 18th-19th century English (cf. section 4); additionally, the input language was a spoken and often non-standard form of English, slightly different from nowadays English, as Mesthrie and Bhatt acknowledge (2008: 188). Similarly, it is very likely that the substrate languages that entered the process of language contact have specific second person plural forms (cf. section 5) which may interfere in the emergence of the new variety of English. In order to analyze these pronominal forms I selected East and South-East Asian Englishes (henceforth ESEAEs), namely the varieties of English spoken in Hong-Kong, India, Singapore and the Philippines. This was motivated by the fact that the number of speakers of English in ESEAEs embraces more speakers than the UK and the USA together, being therefore an interesting geographic area to analyze. For this purpose I chose the ICE corpora (International Corpus of English), which contains parallel corpora of all the varieties of English selected.

The study is structured as follows: Section 2 contains a brief overview on the history of World Englishes; Section 3 discusses the most influential models of analysis to date; Section 4 provides a socio-historical background of the four East and South-East Asian Englishes chosen for the study; Section 5 explores the panorama of the second person pronoun paradigm throughout the history of English from Old English (henceforth OE) to the current situation in Present-Day English (henceforth PDE); Section 6 describes the corpus and the methodology followed in the study and its corresponding results; in Section 7 there is a discussion of results and the final conclusions; Section 8 explains the limitations of the study and Section 9 arises some questions for further research. The study is completed with its corresponding references and appendix.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF WORLD ENGLISHES

During the last three centuries English has spread around the world becoming the world's *lingua franca.* It is a fact that nowadays English is the language of communication, business, politics, travel and the media. At the same time, it has acquired different roles and uses in different countries from mother tongue, as is the case of British English in the British Isles or American English in the USA, to second language in Nigeria, first foreign language in China or indigenized language (when the variety introduced in the colonized country develops a subset of rules different from the variety spoken in the metropolis), as can be found in Malaysia.

In this process, English has diversified and this had led to a rise of varieties of English that can be found in the different English speaking countries. There was a pluralization of the name, from English to Englishes, to indicate that there was not only a variety, which used to be believed as 'the variety' (referring to British English) but many, and consequently, this stresses the fact that: "English has no longer one single base of authority, prestige and normativity" (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 3). Therefore, this new reality needed to be coined by means of a new term.

This issue is explained in depth in the introduction of the journal *World Englishes* in its 20th anniversary:

> The term 'Englishes' is significant in many ways. 'Englishes' symbolizes the functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation, for example, in West Africa,[…] in South Asia, […] and in the traditional English-using countries: the USA, the UK, etc. The language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or in its localized forms (Bolton and Davies 2006: 1).

Thus, the terms 'New Englishes', 'World Englishes' or even 'Postcolonial Englishes' have been coined to give name to those emergent varieties. However, this terminology is unsettled and sometimes considered unsatisfactory. McArthur (2001: 9) explains: "The 'New Englishes' coined by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) are often so called because English-language scholarship took serious note of them only from c. 1980. In most cases they date back 100-200 years." The term is explicitly restricted to the newly grown second-language varieties especially of Asia and Africa, like Indian English or Tanzanian English (Schneider 2011: 30).

However, some scholars such as Kachru (1983: 17) have pointed out that calling 'New Englishes' for example to English in India and not to Australian English is not very convincing since the 'New English' of India is actually older (colonization started in the 17th century) than Australian English (colonization started in 1788), which is not normally included in the 'New Englishes' classification being considered a continuation of the British English norms from the 19th century by some scholars.

Regarding the term 'World Englishes', it refers to "varieties of English (standard, dialect, national, regional, creole, hybrid, 'broken', etc.) throughout the world" (McArthur 2001: 5). The name came out in the two conferences on English as a world language that took place in 1978 in the US (Bolton 2005: 71), and it goes back to Braj Kachru, who is considered the founding father of the discipline (Schneider 2011: 29).

By contrast, when talking about 'World Englishes' some scholars consider the term over-general and others such as Schneider prefer the term 'Postcolonial Englishes' (2007) which unites all the varieties which have shared origins in (mostly) British colonization activities (notice the example of the Philippines with American colonization instead), emphasizing this historical origin and the processes which have resulted from it (Schneider 2011: 30). Schneider uses the label 'Postcolonial' "because all those varieties are products of a specific evolutionary process tied directly to their colonial and postcolonial history" (2007: 3).

All these labels are commonly used in the literature of the field. Therefore, in this study I will stick to the label 'World Englishes', since I consider that 'New Englishes' has been superseded by 'World Englishes', having the latter a wider remit (Bolton and Davis 2006) and being now the most neutral and mostly widely used term (Schneider 2011: 29). This can also be seen in the wide number of titles from the literature which bear the name 'World Englishes' starting from the journal with the same name to textbooks by Jenkins (2003) or Mesthrie and Batt (2008). Nevertheless, in this project when I will deal with Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes, I will respect the author's nomenclature, which is PCEs (Postcolonial Englishes).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MODELS OF ANALYSIS

The emerging varieties of the English language is a recent topic of analysis in English linguistics and literature on them has been blossoming from the last two decades of the last century and especially in this century, not only descriptive studies on different linguistic aspects, and comparative studies among the different varieties, but also models of analysis.

One of the first models of analysis has been proposed by Kachru (1986). He developed the so called 'Three Concentric Circles' and this can be considered the first approach to systematize the varieties of English in the colonized world. A number of other scholars have proposed different models and descriptions of the spread of English worldwide in an attempt to improve Kachru's model. Some of them will be dealt here as is the case of Tom McArthur's 'Circle of World English' (1987) or Görlach 'Circle of International English' (1990) which both conceive the existence of a central variety of English. Similarly, another more recent model will be explained namely Edgar Schneider's 'Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes' (2007), which considers the different varieties of English from an evolutionary perspective.

3.1 KACHRU's Concentric Circles

Braj Kachru's Circles model (see Figure 1) appeared in *English Today* in 1986; in order to get a better understanding of the use of English in different countries, Kachru conceived the idea of three concentric circles of the language, having a broader conceptualization of the varieties of English, in the sense that not only did he look at the mother tongues but also at the growing new varieties of English legitimating them and being one of the most influential models.

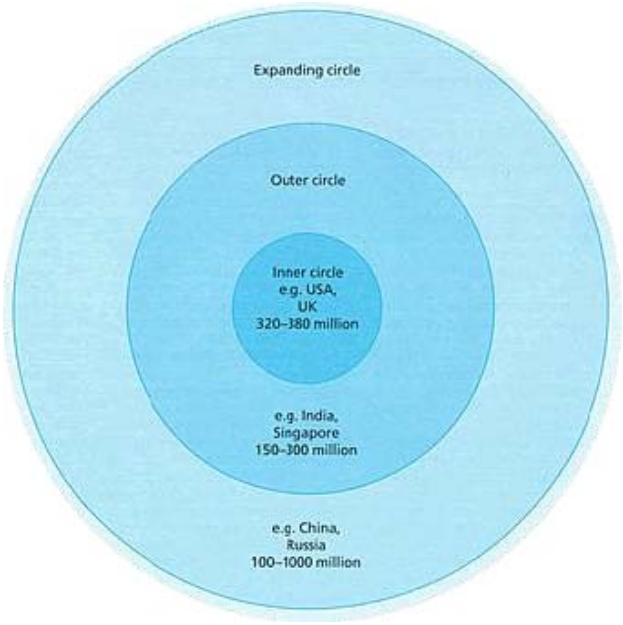


Figure 1 Braj Kachru's Circles model of World Englishes (from Kachru 1988: 5)

As can be seen, we find three different circles: 'the Inner Circle', 'the Outer Circle' and 'the Expanding Circle'. These three circles "represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts" (Kachru 1988: 5). Kachru's model replicates the ENL/ESL/EFL distinctions, although we have to take into account that it also includes the normative nature of the different types of varieties (Sergeant and Swann 2012: 33).

In the Inner Circle, we find 'English as a Native Language' (ENLs), that is, varieties brought from Britain in the first diaspora (16th - 17th century) to America, Australia and New Zealand. This involved large-scale migrations from mother-tongue English speakers from the South and East of England, but also Irish and Scottish to those territories mentioned above. These varieties tend to be norm providing, in the sense that

they still influence the newly emergent varieties of English in terms of grammatical rules.

In the second diaspora, the English language travelled to Asia and Africa at various points during the 18th and 19th centuries. These countries are now considered 'English as a Second Language' (ESLs) countries and are represented by the Outer Circle (Figure 1). In these territories, e.g. Singapore, India and over fifty more, English has a significant importance either in terms of history or because it has won the status of an official language (Jenkins 2003: 7). Thus, in this group we find nations which were former colonies of the British Empire such as India, Pakistan or Nigeria, and others, such as the Philippines, which had the influence of the USA. These ESLs have their own spoken forms but when it comes to formal written English, they tend to look at the Inner Circle varieties; that is why they are considered norm-developing.

As for the Expanding Circle, we find 'English as a Foreign Language' (EFLs) varieties, which have not developed internal norms yet, and they have to rely on the standards set by the Inner Circle, being therefore called norm-dependent. In this model they are seen as 'performance' varieties. The countries in the Expanding Circle include China, Japan or Russia, among others. According to Kachru, dividing English speakers into Inner, Outer and Expanding circles is preferable to the traditional ENL, ESL and EFL labels which involve the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers.

Kachru's model, despite its popularity, is not exempt from criticism. On the one hand, as Jenkins (2003: 17) points out, Kachru's model is based on geography and genetics. It is not based on the way speakers identify with and use English: while some speakers use it as their L1, there are others from the Expanding Circle who use it as a *lingua franca*. Similarly, the line between the Inner and the Outer Circles is not as clear-cut as it may seem, having fuzzy areas between the circles. In some Outer Circle countries, English is the first language for many speakers (e.g. Singapore) and it is not only used for purely official purposes such as education, law or government, but also at home. In Singapore, despite having different official languages, the governmental figures state that 30% of the population speak English at home, making English therefore their mother tongue.

Following these arguments, Jenkins (2003: 17) also remarks that it is a fact that many World English speakers grow up bilingual or multilingual, using English and the other

languages to fulfill different functions in their everyday lives, which makes it difficult to describe languages in the light of a L1, L2, etc. For example, a speaker born in India can use English to carry out an administrative task such as writing an application form, but then at home, s/he can use the Hindi language to interact with their relatives. Furthermore, Kachru's model cannot be used to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English. The competence in a language is not guaranteed by being a native speaker of this language.

Valid and useful as it has been, this model has been criticized by linguists because it is very static and does not contemplate that these emergent varieties of the English language develop and evolve. However, the model succeeded in creating awareness of the existence of other Englishes as distinct varieties being the forerunner of other models of analysis.

3.2.McARTHUR'S CIRCLE OF WORLD ENGLISH

The second important model was proposed by Tom McArthur, and it is also based on Circles. He created 'the Circle of World English' which first appeared in *English Today* in July 1987.

Figure 2. McArthur's Circle of World English (from McArthur 1998a: 97)

As can be seen in figure 2, McArthur's formulation comprises a wheel with a hub, spokes and rim. The hub, which is called 'World Standard English', is obviously an idealization and it is best represented as written international English by some authors such as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 27), whereas other linguists such as Jenkins (2003: 20) believe that an identifiable form of what McArthur calls 'World Standard English' does not exist at present. The next circle round the hub is made of regional standards or standards that are emerging such as African English, American English, Canadian

English, and Irish English. Beyond these, but linked to them by spokes marking off eight regions of the world, is what McArthur defines as "a crowded fringe of subvarieties such as Aboriginal English, Black English Vernacular, Gullah, Jamaican Nation Language, Krio, Singapore English, and Ulster Scots" (1998a: 95).

As can be noted, the varieties found outside the second circle round the hub are those localized varieties which have similarities with the varieties comprised in the second circle (regional and emerging standards). For instance, Canadian English would be present in the circle round the hub, while Quebec English, Frenglish, Newfoundland English and some others would be positioned outside the circle.

McArthur's model, however, also presents some problems. On the one hand, the second circle comprises three very different types of varieties, namely: English as a Native Language (ENL) e.g. American Standard English, English as a Second Language (ESL) e.g. South Asian Standard(izing) English and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). As we can infer, ENL varieties and some ESL varieties have standardizing forms, but most of EFL varieties may not have them. In addition, we cannot find the European Englishes in this circle.

As for the outside layer, we find pidgins, creoles and L2 Englishes. Nevertheless, most scholars would criticize this choice, since English pidgins and creoles do not only belong to a family but they can have multiple affiliations. Examples of these varieties with multiple affiliations are famous creoles such as the Black English Vernacular used in the US or the Gambian creole, among others; famous pidgins namely Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea or American Indian Pidgin English, spoken in some states of the US.

3.3. GÖRLACH´S A CIRCLE OF INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH

Manfred Görlach's model dates from 1990 and is similar to McArthur's in the sense that he follows a wheel model where "the status of varieties of English and related languages world-wide" (Görlach 1990: 29) is displayed. Similarly, both models exclude varieties of English in Europe, although Görlach's does not include EFLs and McArthur's does.

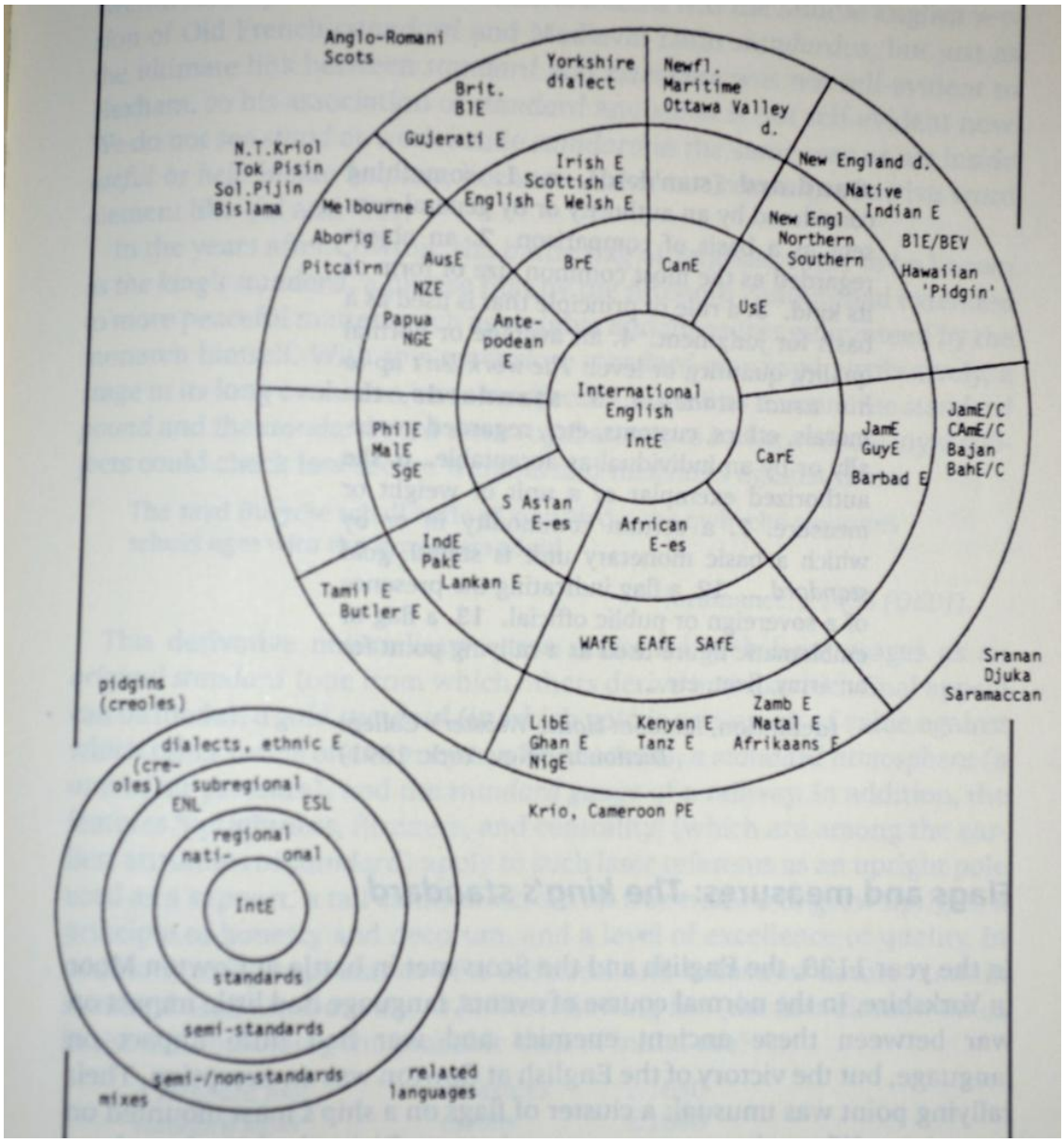


Figure 3 Görlach's a Circle of International English (from McArthur 1998a: 101)

In the first place, we find the hub which is International English (although it is not explicitly presented as standard); secondly, the hub is surrounded by 'regional

standards' such as African Englishes, Antipodean English, British English, United States English. These varieties are in turn enclosed by 'subregional semi-standards' such as Australian English, Irish English, Jamaican English, Scottish English, and Southern US English. Beyond these lie such forms as Aboriginal English, Jamaican English or Kenyan English. Finally, beyond the rim, we can find pidgins, creoles, mixed languages involving English and 'related languages' such as Scots, Anglo-Romani, Krio, Saramaccan and Tok Pisin. These latter mixed varieties are better categorized as having partial membership.

Thus, unlike McArthur, Görlach does not explicitly present the central English core, which he names 'International English' as the standard form, although one may assume its role as a standard, due to the fact that it is placed in the centre. Thus, he moves from what he defines as "the most widespread variety of English (in the centre), to the most local varieties (round the hub)" (Bauer 2002: 21). Görlach's and McArthur's models do not show origins and influences; both fail to show that two very different types of English are involved namely varieties spoken primarily by native speakers of English and varieties originally spoken by second-language learners of English, a distinction which Kachru (1986) makes.

3.4. SCHNEIDER'S DYNAMIC MODEL OF POSTCOLONIAL ENGLISHES

Recurrent criticisms of the previous models were made by Jenkins (2003) and others such as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008). In order to overcome these problems, Schneider, trying to avoid a purely geographic and historical approach, proposes a model based on language contact processes, namely the Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. Thus, an important aspect of Schneider's model is that he assumes that languages evolve; therefore, the main tenet of his model is that it is dynamic, as the name itself illustrates (Schneider 2007: 30). Schneider states that Postcolonial Englishes, in spite of their surface differences, are the product of a uniform process which can be described as a progression of five characteristic stages, namely: foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation.

To describe these five stages, Schneider points out some features. On the one hand, the political situation will result in a construction of a new identity. Hence, we have to take into account that the notion of social identity and its construction and reconstruction plays a key role in the development of Postcolonial Englishes. Identity is defined as "the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectives, and between individuals and collectives, of relationships of similarity and difference" (Jenkins 1996: 4). We cannot forget the fact that humans are social beings and therefore we need to interact with others and at the same time form groups which are defined by shared rules, values, history, etc.

These identity reconstructions, in turn, will manifest themselves in sociolinguistic determinants of the contact setting (conditions of language contact, language use, and language attitudes), which, consequently, will cause specific structural effects to emerge in the form(s) of the language variety/-ies involved. The second factor of major importance is the ethnographic ecology of the sociopolitical and communicative relationship of the parties involved in the colonization process (Schneider 2007: 31).

Therefore, in the case of Postcolonial Englishes, in the process of re-rooting English in a foreign land, we find two participant groups who are experiencing the emergence of a new variety in complementary ways. We can look at it from the perspective of the colonizers or with the perspective of the colonized. To achieve the linguistic expression

of both groups, we need a linguistic mechanism called ‘accomodation’, which refers to the “adjustments that people make unconsciously to the speech, influenced by the speech of those they are talking to” (Crystal 2003: 458). Once we have pointed out the features, we are going to describe the five stages in depth, outlined in the following table (Schneider 2007: 56).

Table 1. *Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes*

Phase	History and politics	Identity construction	Sociolinguistics of contact/ use/attitudes	Linguistic developments/ structural effects
1: Foundation	STL: colonial expansion: trade, military outposts, missionary activities, emigration/ settlement IDG: occupation, loss/ sharing of territory, trade	STL: part of original nation IDG: indigenous	STL: cross-dialectal contact, limited exposure to local languages IDG: minority bilingualism (acquisition of English)	STL: koinéization; toponymic borrowing; incipient pidginization (in trade colonies)
2: Exonormative stabilization	stable colonial status; English established as language of administration, law, (higher) education, . . .	STL: outpost of original nation, "British-plus-local" IDG: individually "local-plus-British"	STL: acceptance of original norm; expanding contact IDG: spreading (elite) bilingualism	lexical borrowing (esp. fauna and flora, cultural terms); "-isms"; pidginization/ creolization (in trade/ plantation colonies)
3: Nativization	weakening ties; often political independence but remaining cultural association	STL: permanent resident of British origin IDG: permanent resident of indigenous origin	widespread and regular contacts, accommodation IDG: common bilingualism, toward language shift, L1 speakers of local English STL: sociolinguistic cleavage between innovative speakers (adopting IDG forms) and conservative speakers (upholding external norm; "complaint tradition")	heavy lexical borrowing; IDG: phonological innovations ("accent," possibly due to transfer); structural nativization, spreading from IDG to STL: innovations at lexis–grammar interface (verb complementation, prepositional usage, constructions with certain words/word classes), lexical productivity (compounds, derivation, phrases, semantic shifts); code-mixing (as identity carrier)
4: Endonormative stabilization	post-independence, self-dependence (possibly after "Event X")	(member of) new nation, territory-based, increasingly pan-ethnic	acceptance of local norm (as identity carrier), positive attitude to it; (residual conservatism); literary creativity in new variety	stabilization of new variety, emphasis on homogeneity, codification: dictionary writing, grammatical description
5: Differentiation	stable young nation, internal sociopolitical differentiation	group-specific (as part of overarching new national identity)	network construction (increasingly dense group-internal interactions)	dialect birth: group-specific (ethnic, regional, social) varieties emerge (as L1 or L2)

In the first phase, called foundation (Schneider 2007: 33), the introduction of the English language to the new territory by a group of settlers takes place for an extended period of time. In most cases, there is a motivation behind the introduction of the language such as trade between the English speakers and the native inhabitants or the purpose of a settlement in the new colony. Thus, this language contact operates on two levels, on two different types of linguistic ecologies. On the one hand, we find contact between English and the indigenous languages, and on the other hand, we can also find contact between different dialects of English of the settlers (speakers from different regions of Britain) which will eventually result in a new stable dialect, a colonial *koiné*, due to the fact that speakers tend to mutually adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding among each other. In Schneider's words (2007: 35), this *koiné* is conceived as a 'middle-of-the-road variety'.

In terms of identity, the settlers group, who Schneider refers to as *Settlers speech community* (henceforth STL), regard themselves as "full members and representatives of the source society (Britain in the default case)" (2007: 34). By contrast, the indigenes, referred by Schneider as *Indigenous speech community* (henceforth IST), consider themselves "the only rightful residents, perhaps owners, of the territory" (2007: 34), feeling the only ones who do belong to the territory.

At this first stage, we find some members of the local population that will act as translators; as for linguistic processes, borrowing appears on the English side, but being limited to local place names, (e.g. see American toponyms in North America, Aboriginal names in Australia, Maori place names in New Zealand), and local fauna and flora. Bilingualism, at this stage, is rarely encountered.

Schneider (2007: 114) provides the example of Fiji illustrating this first phase that comprised the whole 19th century up to the 1930s. In the early 19th century, we find a regular use of English in Fiji by whalers and traders. This would also be reinforced by the presence of missionaries and the opening of a missionary school at the end of the century, who introduced the formal teaching of English to the islands. In the same way, there were also early contacts with European and Australian settlers and visits by American ships.

In 1874, there was the cession of Fiji by the local chiefs and it became a British colony. From that moment onwards, the phenomena of immigration started arriving 60,000 Indians in four decades to work as laborers on the sugar-cane plantations. Similarly, around 27,000 Pacific Islanders also came to work as plantation laborers as well (Siegel 1987: 51). The two main ethnic groups socialized among themselves, since only a small amount of Fijians worked in the plantations. Fijian, and a reduced, pidginized form of it, also served as a *lingua franca*. Some white planters also acquired it. Knowledge of English was associated with formal education and therefore restricted to elite minorities. This phase would last until the 1930 with the introduction of English as a medium of instruction.

As for the second phase, called exonormative stabilization (Schneider 2007: 36), we see how the new community has stabilized politically speaking and it is now a colony under (most of the times) British rule. This has made English increase in prominence, becoming the language of administration, education and the legal system. This fact at the same time makes bilingualism increase among the native population through education and contact with the English settlers. Furthermore, this bilingualism is associated with higher social status. At this stage, local vocabulary continues to be borrowed and British English is still regarded as the linguistic standard of reference, above all in teaching matters.

In terms of identity, the STL still look at Britain as their 'home', but step by step, as Schneider (2007: 37) points out:

> Their identity expands to encompass something like 'British plus': genuinely British no doubt, but seasoned with the additional flavor of the colonial experience which those who stayed 'home' do not share. This undoubtedly is also influenced by the fact that mixed marriages start to grow making a new hybrid identity develop.

Similarly, the IST's identity is also enriched, called by Schneider (2007: 37) the 'British-cum-local' identity, taking into account the fact that now those who can communicate with the STL get to know aspects of another worldview and English knowledge becomes a 'source of pride'. This situation, in turn, makes English be associated with higher social status.

One example of a language in this second phase would also be English in Fiji (1930s-nowadays). As has been explained above, it was a British colony between 1874 and

1970. In the 1930s, New Zealand starts to play a role in Fijian education, since it was given authority over the education system. The result was large numbers of New Zealanders who came to Fiji as teachers and Indians setting up schools of their own with English being an important part of the curriculum. Thus, English was taught and promoted to be a *lingua franca* to form a bond between the two major population groups, namely Indians and native Fijians. It became with time the language of government, justice, media and business. Despite the fact that Fiji achieved independence in 1970, which is the step normally associated to the third phase, Schneider argues that nowadays there is little nativization to reach the third phase completely: only a few grammatical localisms and some vocabulary related to the local environment and culture, e.g. words for flora and fauna.

As for bilingualism, it is quite widespread but at the same time it is associated with an instrumental motivation rather than an integrative one. Thus, the establishment of English as a *lingua franca* in Fiji between the two major population groups does not seem to have affected identity constructions.

The third phase, known as nativization (Schneider 2007: 40) is, in Schneider's opinion, "the most important and interesting stage, the central phase of both linguistic and cultural transformation" (2007: 40). There are two key words at this stage namely: the relationship to the mother country and independence. On the one hand, the English settlers have developed a new 'mixed' identity based on the local reality and not only on the 'mother country'. In fact, the feeling towards the 'mother country' has weakened and gradually a part of the population from the colonies starts to feel less identified with the 'mother country' and seek independence, whereas the rest is still closely bound culturally and psychologically to the 'homeland'.

Thus, this newly born identity reduces the gap between the colonizers and the indigenous population, since both groups have realized that they consider themselves permanent residents of that territory and therefore the distinction between 'us' (native inhabitants) and the 'others' (settlers) is gradually erased, both groups accepting individuals from the other group in their own group.

In terms of language, all the changes mentioned above make the contact between groups increase, and this implies a pressure to accommodate to English for a sector of the

indigenous population who still do not speak it. Similarly, those English speakers will also accommodate to the special features of the English spoken by the local groups, for example by borrowing native words.

At this point, a new phenomenon emerges, known as 'the complaint tradition' (Schneider 2007: 43). Prescriptivist educationists and conservative language observers criticize the new local forms of English by comparing them to the metropolitan norms. They argue that the old metropolitan norm is the only one correct and therefore acceptable, and all those forms which deviate from 'the norm' are regarded as corrupt. It is at this stage when Schneider states that a new, formally distinct 'Postcolonial English' is born.

Therefore, this birth will mean lots of ongoing changes. Firstly, in terms of vocabulary, we will find a substantial quantity of loans from indigenous languages. Secondly, at the level of phonology, the existence of a marked local accent is naturally assumed, frequently identified with a transfer from the phonology of indigenous languages. Although we can also encounter some sociolinguistic accent variation, from those speakers belonging to a higher social status, having higher education or showing a higher frequency of interaction with the native speakers of English are likely to be closer to the native speaker pronunciation.

Interestingly enough, at the morphological and syntactic levels, we also find structural nativization by developing constructions peculiar to the local territory/country. Speakers at this stage have an active role in the development of this new variety, ultimately leading to new word-formation products, such as hybrid compounds combining elements from the indigenous language and English, e.g. *rice-eating ceremony* (from South Asian English, Kachru 1986: 41), localized set phrases, as the Australianism *no worries*; change in the verb complementation patterns, shown for instance by *pick* used transitively and not as a phrasal verb *pick up*, e.g. *to pick someone* in East African, Singapore, and Fiji English (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984:82; Tent 2000: 376; Schneider 2004: 240).

An example of a country that has reached the third phase is Hong Kong (see Map 2). Although it still has some traces associated to the second phase, Bolton (2000a: 268) states that the beginnings of this third phase are dated in the 1960s in what is called 'late

British colonialism': "the economic transformation of Hong Kong from a relatively poor refuge community to a wealthy commercial and entrepreneurial powerhouse" Bolton (2000a: 268). Since the 1970s, there were negotiations about the future of the territory which would ultimately lead to the Joint Sino-British Declaration of 1984 with an agreement on the handover of the island to China in 1997, at least for a fifty-year transition period.

Joseph (2004: 150) points out that the situation of Hong Kong is not a typical postcolonial one in that it did not gain independence but was turned over to another power, in this case, China. Therefore, all these political changes have transformed Hong Kong's population structure and social organization, affecting at the same time the identity constructions of the Hong Kongers.

Thus, after all these political changes, the British expatriate residents needed to decide whether to stay or not, and all those who decided to stay needed to rewrite their identity from 'representative of Britain in Hong Kong' to 'permanent resident of Hong Kong of British origin'. Likewise, the former elitist bilingualism was gradually changed thanks to a change in identity of the local natives. They realized that Hong Kong's economic change and its internalization were closely related to the use of English, which made them aware of the need of being bilingual. Therefore, nowadays English is spoken by the vast majority of the middle class and it is no longer a symbol of the elite. As Bolton (2003: 115) suggests "a knowledge of English has become the marker of a general middle class (new-middle class) identity for Hong Kong Chinese".

Hence, there is now a distinct form of Hong Kong English which has developed a distinctive vocabulary of its own, as for instance *tai tai* 'supreme wife' or loan translations such as *lucky money* or *blue lantern* (Setter, Wong and Chan 2010: 88). As regards the phonological level, undoubtedly there exists a Hong Kong English accent, which is developing distinct rules and other features of its own (Hung 2000; Bolton 2003). Concerning the syntactic level, Gisborne (2000) describes unique features in the relative clause system, thus showing that the variety is on the path to structural nativization.

The fourth phase, called endonormative stabilization (Schneider 2007: 48) presupposes most of the times the achievement of political independence. For a local linguistic norm

to be accepted also in formal contexts, it is necessary that a community is entitled to decide language matters as affairs of its own. As Greenbaum (1996: 11) states, "Political independence is a precursor of linguistic independence". However, we do find some cases where independence is achieved in the third phase, and it is not enough for the fourth phase to be reached. Similarly, we can also refer to cases such as Australia and New Zealand, which still regarded themselves as 'British' even after several decades of being politically independent from the 'mother country'.

Therefore, as can be seen, not only is political independence important in the process of stabilization, but also the construction of a new identity which implies cultural self-reliance. As Schneider (2007: 49) explains, "this is the moment of the birth of a new nation", where the descendants of the former settlers see themselves as members of a new nation and not as British exiled, and the indigenous population leave the feeling of 'being colonized' behind and are willing to share a territory, since there has been the acceptance of the indigenous ethnic group.

Linguistically speaking, the processes of linguistic change and nativization have produced a new language variety. The community has finally understood and recognized that the new local norm is distinct from the norms that brought the old colonizers, but both are considered as equally valid in formal usage. This new norm has stabilized acquiring certain traits of the indigenous language, mainly vocabulary and some structural patterns.

Interestingly enough, at phase 4 there is also an important change in linguistic terminology. Schneider (2007: 50) explains it:

> The difference between phases 3 and 4 is commonly given symbolic expression by substituting a label of the 'English in X' type by a newly coined 'X English.' The former marks the dialect as just a variant without a discrete character of its own, while the latter credits it with the status of a distinct type, set apart from and essentially on equal terms with all others. This is exemplified by the discussion of whether there exists just an 'English in Hong Kong' or whether by now a 'Hong Kong English' in itself has evolved. The varying labels signal different conceptualizations of the status of the language.

Thus, the acceptance of local English(es) expresses this newly born identity and the awareness of these new English(es) also produces the necessity of codifying these new varieties, hence the appearance of dictionaries: e.g. *Macquarie Dictionary* in Australia.

An example of a country having reached phase four is Singapore (Schneider 2007: 155). Unlike the examples mentioned above in the other stages, the evolution of English in Singapore is the result of a unique language policy: respect for multilingualism, but assigning English a special status at the same time, since it is the language that can serve as a sort of *lingua franca* within Singapore. Starting as a colony in 1819, the island gained independence in 1965, after a process of decolonization movement. Thus, the post-independence period (1970s) meant a modernization of the country, stunning development and economic growth. All together introduced the transition to phase four: this modern and industrialized nation has a unique and novel identity which combines European and Asian components. This results in a Singaporean identity rather than the Chinese, Tamil or Malay identity with which they used to feel identified.

English, therefore, is seen as the language that transcends barriers and "Singaporean English has come to be the means of expression of this newly emerging Asian-cum-western culture" (Schneider 2007: 156). It has gone through a vibrant process of structural nativization.

On the phonological level, certain vowel distinctions are emerging and represent genuine indigenous innovations. The local vocabulary keeps expanding, with indigenous compounding (e.g. *airflown* 'freshly imported food') and at the level of syntax, we also find many distinctive rules and patterns, e.g. the use of *can* as a complete utterance, without a subject or complement (Schneider 2007: 159) or the discursive marker *lah* which has a wide range of functions from feeling of solidarity, to soften the force of the utterance, among others (Deterding 2007: 66).

As for the fifth and last phase, known as differentiation (Schneider 2007: 54), Schneider points out that the appearance of a distinct language variety is not "the end point of linguistic evolution but rather a turning point from which something new springs: the stage of dialect birth." At this phase, we see how new varieties from the former new variety emerge due to the appearance of new group identities who have different regional and social dialects. The new English *koiné* starts to show greater differentiation towards the former variety brought from the homeland.

Schneider (2007: 55) emphasizes the fact that:

> Phase 5 does not entail monolingualism in English at all. It is possible for varieties of English to coexist with other, mostly indigenous languages, with all of these fulfilling identity-marking functions. South Africa, with its eleven official languages and its ethnic, social, and regional varieties of English, is the most obvious example of this.

A country that has reached this fifth phase is Australia (Schneider 2007: 125). As Schneider (2007: 125) points out: "Australia was viewed as a young, self-dependent nation, rooted in her territory, connected with her Asia-Pacific environment, increasingly accepting a multicultural and multiethnic population setup including the contribution of immigrants and, at least theoretically and to some extent, the indigenous population". Thus, Australian English became a motive of national pride. It was a distinctive feature of this newly created identity and this new variety was reflected in a growing body of Australian literature, mainly poetry and novels.

The foundation phase in Australia took place between 1788-1830s, when a penal colony was established in New South Wales and convicts and some free pioneers alike settled in the land 'Down Under'. The identity of this early generation was clearly British. As for the second phase, which is dated from the 1830s to 1901, is a period characterized by the English spread among the Aboriginal population. Phase 3, however, can be dated to 1901-1942, when the colonies were federated to form the Commonwealth of Australia.

Phase 4 (1942-1980) meant a change in identity in the Australian population. Although it is commonly said that "the Australians are more British than the British themselves", there was an event, in Schneider's models referred to as 'event X' (2007: 122) which made them distance themselves from the 'mother country'. This happened during the Second World War (1942), where the British left the Australian unprotected against the threat of a Japanese attack after the fall of Singapore. Therefore, in the long run this resulted in political self-dependence and in the emergence of a new founded national identity, fully in line with phase four.

From the 1980s onwards, we can see how Australia has reached this fifth and last stage with the ongoing birth of new dialects. In recent years internal differentiation has been developing. As regards the sound level, there are emerging regional differences, we find variation by social class with Broad Australian English, Cultivated Australian (resembling RP) and General Australian. With respect to vocabulary, there has been the

inclusion of many regionalisms in the fourth edition of *Macquarie Dictionary* published in 2005.

All in all, Schneider's Dynamic Model has been largely praised, although it has also been object of criticism by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 35). According to them, Schneider's conception of identity is in terms of nationhood and it excludes class or status, which in cases such as Australia play an important role.

In any case, unlike other models, one cannot deny that Schneider's model is truly dynamic and offers a framework for placing and analyzing developments in individual territories with a holistic approach. As Schneider (2007: 311) puts it: "it provides a coherent roof for different types of varieties, including native-language English, second-language usage, and English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. Traditionally, these language types have been viewed independently of each other".

4. EAST AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ENGLISHES

This section deals with the varieties chosen to be the object of this study, East and South-East Asian Englishes, namely Indian English, the Philippines English, Hong Kong English and Singapore English.

A common characteristic found in all the emergent varieties of the English language around the world is the fact that all of them arose throughout the history of colonialism which brought a situation of language contact on all continents. As Crystal (1997: 72) puts it "the history of a global language can be traced through the successful expeditions of its soldier/sailor speakers. And English has been no exception".

This spoken variety of English that was introduced in the colonized country (superstrate) suffered the influence of the local language or languages (substrate (s)) and it was the germ of the varieties that can be found nowadays. The four varieties analyzed here are all emergent varieties of the English language which following Kachru's traditional model of the Three Concentric Circles (1986) are classified as members of the Outer Circle (see section 3.1). Following Schneider's model, they are undergoing different phases of the cycle, either phase 3, nativization as is the case of Hong Kong, India and the Philippines; or phase 4, endonormative stabilization being the situation of Singapore.

In this section, it will be also shown that the linguistic situation of the countries concerned differs from one country to another, in terms of attitude to the language, education, quantity of substrates and their typologically distinct origin, among others. Similarly, it will also be seen how in the process of language contact the varieties have acquired peculiarities related to the languages involved in the process (both substrate (s) and superstrates). Scholars agree that there is a great influence at all levels of the language, more clearly at the levels of lexis and phonology, but also present in grammar and pragmatics.

4.1. INDIAN ENGLISH

Map 1: India (From Schneider 2007: 162)

The first variety to be described will be Indian English which constitutes "one of the most important varieties on the globe in terms of speaker numbers" (Schneider 2007: 161), being the world's second largest English-speaking country in the world after the USA. To start with, a brief history of the country will be made, in order to know the historical context and the socioeconomic and linguistic situation.

Thus, English was first introduced to India (see Map 1) at the beginning of the 17th Century via the establishment of the East India Company by the British. They set up its first factory at Surat in 1612 and began expanding its influence, fighting the Indian rulers and the French, Dutch and Portuguese traders simultaneously (Schneider 2007: 162)

Bombay, taken from the Portuguese, began the seat of English rule in 1687. The defeat of French and Mogul armies by Lord Clive in 1757 laid the foundation of the British Empire in India. The East India Company continued to suppress native uprisings and

extended the British rule until 1858, when the administration of India was formally transferred to the British crown following the Sepoy Mutiny of native troops in 1857-1858. From that moment onwards, Britain assumed political control of virtually all Indian lands, and Queen Victoria was crowned as empress of India (Sailaja 2009: 102-108).

After World War I, in which Indian states sent more than 6 million troops to fight beside the Allies, Indian nationalist unrest rose to new heights under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. His philosophy of non-violent civil disobedience called for non-violent noncooperation against the British authorities. Gandhi soon became the spirit of the Indian National Congress Party and after World War II, in August 1947, India was granted full independence.

Geographically, India is the largest country from the Indian subcontinent and the seventh largest country in the world, second in Asia after China. It is a federal government organized into twenty-eight states and seven Union Territories, which are mostly determined on a linguistic basis. India is therefore, a country of diversity and multiculturality, home to different religions, cultural customs and languages (Sailaja 2009: 1).

Concerning the linguistic situation, the different families of languages can be divided into four major groups, namely: Indo-Aryan, having languages such as Hindi (the only official language together with English present in the Constitution), Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati or Urdu; Tibeto-Burman with Angami, Ao, Bodo; Austro-Asiatic or Munda, with Santhali or Khasi and finally Dravidian, with Tamil, Telugu, Malayalada or Kannada. There also exist languages with a reduced number of speakers, including 196 listed as endangered by the UNESCO (Bolton; Graddol and Meierkord 2011: 468), making India the home for more endangered languages than any other country.

As for demography, according to current estimates, the Indian population comprises about 1,125 million inhabitants; this means 16.7% of the world's population (Government of India 2005). Interestingly enough, the figures of this census reveal that only 27.78% of India's population lives in urban areas, and it is precisely this segment of the Indian population who mostly use English, around 350 million people. However, according to Indiatribune.com, one must also take into account that these numbers are

represented by young people and/or upper-middle class where the levels of literacy are higher. Table 2 shows the percentage of L1 communities reporting English as their L2 in India.

Table 2 percentage of L1 communities reporting English as their L2 in India (Bolton, Graddol and Meierkord 2011: 469)

Manipuri	27.67
Malayalam	21.24
Konkani	19.86
Oriya	15.32
Tamil	14.88
Bengali	11.09
Assamese	10.68
Telugu	10.48
Kannada	9.82
Punjabi	9.31
Hindi	7.68
Nepali	7.35
Sanskrit	6.66
Sindhi	6.22
Dogri	4.75
Kashmiri	3.86
Urdu	3.79
Bodo	3.54
Gujarati	2.22
Marathi	2.22
Maithili	0.70
Santali	0.60

In terms of official status, the Constitution of India, which dates back to 1950, defines English as an official language of the Union, by Article 343. This status was granted for a period of fifteen years. After that, the Official Languages Act was passed in 1963. This law extended the status of English to an indefinite period of time, designating English as an official language along with Hindi.

Therefore, the fact that English is an official language in the country makes it the language of education, administration, law, mass media, science and technology. English is one of the three mandatory languages introduced in school and it has become the first language used by the educated classes, causing a diglossic situation, using

English for formal purposes and another Indian language for more colloquial ones, yet there are also exceptions.

As regards the press, English newspapers are published in twenty-seven of the twenty-nine states and union territories. The percentage of books published in English is higher than the percentage of books published in any other language, making India the third largest English-using nation with around 60 million speakers after the USA and the UK.

Taking Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes into account, we have to bear in mind that this model is only applied to a segment of society in India, since the majority on the subcontinent who live in rural areas are untouched by the presence of English (Schneider 2007: 161). During the 20th century Indian English progressed into the process of nativization, reaching phase 3. At first sight, this fact may seem surprising since after independence in 1947, there was a wish to get rid of English because it was considered part of the colonial heritage. However, quite the contrary happened, according to Gupta (2001: 148): "Since 1947, English has grown and spread in India". Other authors such as Bond (quoted in Mehrotra (1998: 13)) follow the same line: "English has flowered in India to an extent it had never done in British times".

Therefore, the first phase foundation took place between 1600-1757 (Schneider 2007: 162) when Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to the East India Company and this made that English sailors brought the language to India's shores, establishing permanent bases, factories and trading posts. In the same way, the missionaries also brought the language to the country, establishing schools that were run in English and thus spreading the language. In numerical terms, the size of the STL was rather small compared to the ILG. Some missionaries acquired some knowledge in indigenous languages, but as regards bilingualism in English, it spread slowly in the local population.

The transition from phase 1 foundation to phase 2 exonormative stabilization is difficult to establish, although Schneider (2007: 163) states that phase 2 comprises the years ca. 1757- ca 1905. English gradually gained more ground despite the fact that phase 1 was rather prolonged; the second half of the 18th century saw the rise of English due to a change in motivation: from a purely instrumental motivation related to trade interests to a struggle for political authority, with the British crown getting involved and assuming

joint responsibility with the Company in India Act of 1784 (Kachru 1994: 502). Thus, as Schneider points out: "the Anglicization of India began with trade and turned into exploitation colonization only later, in the transition to phase 2" (2007: 163).

A key event during this phase is Raja Rammohan Roy's letter (a liberal intellectual and representative of modernist Indian leaders) to Lord Amherst of 1823. In it, she demanded the teaching of English as a tool to the western learning and sciences for the Indians. According to Schneider:

> This fact "can be read as a direct expression of a characteristic identity construction of a member of the indigenous population (or at least its leadership), combining local roots with the putative advantages that the English language and through it access to western culture have to offer" (2007: 164).

In the same way, Raja Roy's letter fostered a debate between 'Orientalists' and 'Anglicists'. The former wanted Indians to be educated in their own languages and traditions, whereas the latter were in favor of the introduction of an English-based education system. Finally, the adoption of Macaulay's Minute of 1835 made English the language of higher education in India, a situation which continues today after one and three quarter centuries (Sailaja 2009: 106-7).

Nevertheless, although Raja Roy's pleas were heard and accepted, her interests and Macaulay's were not the same. The former wanted the Indian people to benefit from a formal education in English, whereas Macaulay was interested in forming ''a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons, Indians in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect'' (Kachru 1983: 22). This was a key moment in the history of English in India. Macaulay's policy meant the beginning of bilingual education in India throughout the 19th century, which would put the basis of the roots of English in the country. During this period, English was the medium of instruction in 60% of all elementary schools in India. Similarly, the foundation of three universities in 1857 Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, apart from other small colleges, also helped the institutionalization of English (Schneider 2007: 164-5).

Linguistically speaking, during this phase 2, there was the period of heavy lexical borrowing into English, mainly the usual share of flora and fauna (e.g. *bamboo*) and Indianisms (e.g. *chitty/chit* 'letter, note', *veranda*). Many of these were taken over into

International English such as *veranda* or *chit*, while others remained in local use (Yule and Burnell 1886).

Reaching thus the 20th century, Indian English is now immersed in the process of nativization (phase 3). Again it is difficult to establish an exact date as the onset of a new phase. Some authors such as Ferguson (1996) as quoted in Schneider (2007:165) suggest the independence of India in 1947 as the beginning of a new stage. However, Schneider disagrees with that, taking into account that he establishes the beginning of the third phase c. 1905 (2007: 165) and considers the independence already within the third phase.

In addition, this third phase is characterized by a period of political disruption before reaching Indian independence. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 and was instrumental in leading the country to independence (Sailaja 2009: 108). Surendra Nath Banerja and other politicians and scholars believed that English had a beneficial effect for the Indians, because it served as a unifying language across the country, being also the carrier of ideas of liberty and independence.

However, there were also other leaders such as Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi, who returned to India in 1915 from South Africa and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, or Maulana Mohammed Ali who did not support English as the language of independence, advocating Hindustani (Hindi-Urdu) as the language of unity in India. Despite their opinions, Schneider states that "the language of the independence movement, in public but also beyond, was English" (2007: 166). As has been explained above, the status of English during the 20th century can be traced back in the Constitution of 1950 itself and in the 'Official Languages Act' from 1963.

In terms of identity, before independence the STL basic identity remained British, with a positive association with India, e.g. the 'white Babus' were culturally Indianized to a certain extent and as such they developed certain features peculiar to Indian English. However, in present-day India, the STL stream has practically vanished. The group closest to this one would be represented nowadays by the 'Anglo-Indians' (although small in number) who are descendants of mix-marriages between Europeans and Indians and they are normally native speakers of English.

By contrast, the IDG strand's identity is Indian, although English is seen as a language to serve certain purposes (academic, judicial, in the business world or as a marker of education), the indigenes "still remain rooted to their cultural heritage" (Schneider 2007: 167) and therefore to their mother tongues. Schneider also points out that unlike other Postcolonial Englishes-speaking countries, India is a country in which there is a lot of tension between different language groups, namely Hindi speakers and speakers of Dravidian languages and English is seen as a neutral language, but not as 'the language' to symbolize an Indian identity.

Moreover, Schneider (2007: 167) foresees the future of Indian English in the light that it could reach the role of a national symbol, although also bearing in mind the negative fact that nowadays the number of speakers of Hindi outnumbers the English speakers, taking into account that English is almost invisible in rural areas in India.

The signs of structural nativization in Indian English can be seen in all levels of language. Of special relevance are the morphosyntactic innovations, illustrated by invariant tags like *isn't it?* or *no*; pluralization of certain mass nouns, like *alphabets*, *furnitures*, *apparels*; arbitrary omission or insertion of articles; use of the progressive with stative verbs; *wh*-interrogative clauses without inversion, e.g. *Where you are going?*; reduplication of adjectives and verbs; a wider range of uses of the past perfect structure, including present perfect and past meanings (Schneider 2007: 169).

Schneider argues that despite the fact that the process of nation-building is far advanced, this is not enough to reach a further stage of endonormative stabilization if it is not accompanied by English being a carrier of a national identity (not just a neutral language) and accessible to the vast majority of the population (Schneider 2007: 171).

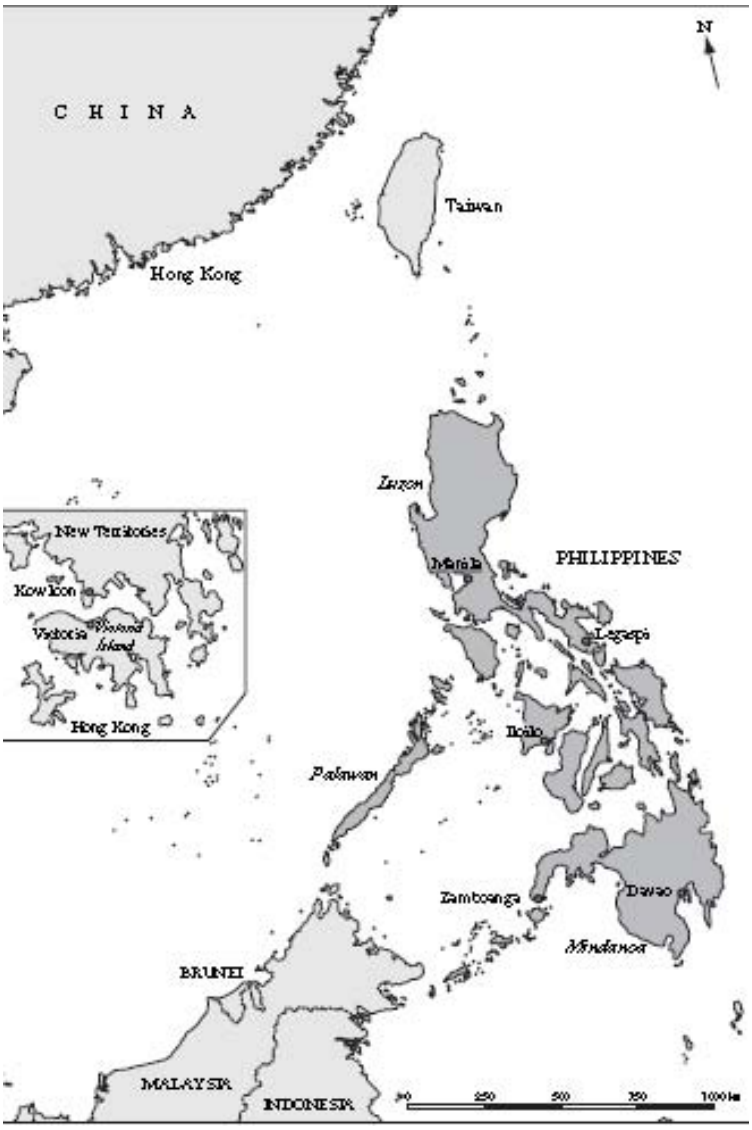
In order to get an endonormative attitude, the population needs to get rid of the stigma or the negative connotations associated with localized varieties. Kachru (1994: 526), in his survey of Indian faculty and graduate students, found that the vast majority still regarded British English as a model and only a quarter of all respondents indicated a preference for Indian English. The educated classes and the institutions still uphold what Kachru (1994: 426) calls "the idealised linguistic norm" of British English.

Nevertheless, we should also point out that there is a sector of writers who have a strong acceptance of Indian English, although the majority still write in English though showing traces of 'Indian-ness'.

For phase 4 to be reached, however, there is still a long path to cover. Stabilization, homogenization, and codification are necessary to move along the cycle towards new phases. Codification, in concrete, is increasing little by little and it is an interest for companies such as Macmillan Australia, in collaboration with the Macquarie Dictionary company. Both companies together with Macmillan India are producing a series of learners' dictionaries of various sizes for the Indian market, and the production of a bigger Indian dictionary is on the agenda (Schneider 2007: 172).

4.2. HONG KONG ENGLISH

The next variety to be described is Hong Kong English. Hong Kong (see Map 2) is now a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC). It is situated on China's south coast, enclosed by the Pearl River Delta and South China Sea. Hong Kong is not just formed by a single island territory, but it includes three major parts: Hong Kong Island, the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories (Setter, Wong and Chan 2010: 1).



Map 2: Hong Kong and the Philippines (From Schneider 2007:134)

Hong Kong became a colony of the British Empire after the First Opium War which took place from 1839 to 1842. After the Treaty of Nanking, Britain was granted a 99-year lease of the New Territories, including Lantau Island. In 1984, the British and the Chinese governments signed a treaty known as the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which stated the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule at the end of the lease in 1997. Thus, on 30 June 1997, the day known as the Handover, Hong Kong started to be governed again by the Chinese rule, retaining its laws and high degree of autonomy for at least fifty years after the Handover. Nowadays, it continues to prosper being a major centre for banking and commerce in the South East Asia region.

Concerning the language situation, Setter, Wong and Chan (2010: 4) define it has "trilingual and biliterate." Trilingual refers to Hong Kong's three official spoken languages, namely: Cantonese, English and Putonghua (spoken Mandarin Chinese), however, the vast majority of Hong Kongers are only "biliterate in writing" using written Standard Chinese and English. According to the figures from the government of Hong Kong (www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/facts.htm) the vast majority of the population speaks Cantonese (88.7%), while 5.8% represent speakers of other Chinese dialects, Mandarin speakers are 1.1 % and only 3.1% are English speakers.

As in other areas of English use, we find that although Chinese and English are the official languages of Hong Kong, for historical reasons English is the predominant language of the government, the legal system and business. Therefore, the average Hong Kong citizen is mostly bilingual in Cantonese and simple English. However, the language situation in the field of education is different from other official areas. Before the Handover in 1997, English was the medium of instruction in the vast majority of high schools. Nevertheless, after the Handover, the linguistic policy changed; the government wanted the school to instruct in the mother tongue, Cantonese, except in English Lessons.

Therefore, English has become for Hong Kong a *lingua franca*, a means of communication with the outside world, for business, tourism or hospitality industry, since most of the multinational corporations choose now Hong Kong for their Asia-Pacific headquarters. In this line, English is perceived as a socially prestigious language, being the language of the educated and the wealthy classes.

Culturally speaking, Hong Kong is closer to China, and this can also be seen in the statistics related to population, taking into account that the majority of the population is ethnically Chinese. In spite of this, there is a blending of east and west cultures, and we will encounter citizens who will define themselves as 'Chinese', while others claim that their nationality is 'Hong Kong'.

Taking Schneider's Dynamic Model into account, Hong Kong has reached the third phase called nativization. Phase 1 foundation took place from 1841 with the occupation of Hong Kong and the establishment of the island as a colony after the Opium War, to 1898 with the Treaty of 1898, in which the New Territories were leased to Britain for ninety-nine years.

During this first phase, missionary schools taught and promoted English contributing to its spread. There was not a significant dialect mixture given the small number of Europeans resident in Hong Kong and naturally place names were indigenous e.g. *Kowloon*, *Wan Chai*, *Cheung Chau*, *Lam Ma*, *Ngong Ping*, *Shau Kei Wan*, *Chek Keng* (Bolton 2003: 156-8).

Phase 2, which took place between1898-1960s, started with the Treaty guaranteeing stability to the country for over a century. Thus, Hong Kong became a thriving center for trade between Britain and southern China. The population multiplied mainly due to Cantonese immigration and bilingualism kept spreading but only in a small segment of the IDG.

Linguistically speaking, during this phase 2, there was some lexical borrowing into English, related to the local flora and fauna (e.g. *dragon's eye* 'kind of fruit') other cultural terms (e.g. *dim sum* 'kind of Cantonese dish,' *wantan* 'kind of Cantonese dish') and other localisms (e.g. *Canto-pop queen*) (Butler 1997: 113).

As far as Phase 3 is concerned, the beginnings of this stage can be traced back in the 1960s continuing up to the present. From the 1970s to 1984 there were negotiations about the future status of the Hong Kong territory. The Sino-British Joint Declaration signed in 1984 meant the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997; the act being also known as the Handover (Schneider 2007: 136).

All the political changes mentioned above also affected the identity constructions of the Hong Kong people both British expatriate residents and Cantonese Hong Kongers. Recent research carried out by Hyland (1997: 199) suggests the emergence of "a distinctive and healthy Hong Kong identity". Scholars such as Bolton (2003: 66) and Setter, Wong and Chan (2010: 7) agree on the fact that this new identity is a combination of Chinese and western models.

Related to the rapprochement to western culture is the use of English. Not only does it serve as a link to international relations but also as a lingua franca between speakers of Cantonese and Mandarin. However, despite its linguistic uses, Hong Kong has also its 'complaint tradition' in this case about both English and Chinese. Prescriptivist scholars complain about the decline of standards in both languages and still uphold British English as the correct and therefore 'the variety' to look up to.

Special features of Hong Kong English are the development of distinct vocabulary (loans or interference phenomena from Cantonese and Chinese), e.g. *kwailo* 'foreign residents'; loan translations, as in: *lucky money* or hybrid compounds, for example: *chim sticks* 'bamboo sticks used in telling someone's fortune' (Bolton 2000b quoted in Schneider 2007: 138). Cantonese influence on phonology, above all on the pronunciation of consonants (Setter; Wong and Chan 2010: 12). At the level of syntax, the omission of the *–s* suffix in third person singular subjects, e.g. '*he give all the picture to you'*; the past tense is not marked (Platt 1982: 410); subjectless sentences (feature allowed in Cantonese); double subjects, e.g. '*my mother, she likes to watch TV*' or double morphological markings e.g. as in '*I didn't telled him*', to mention a few.

All in all, it is clear that Hong Kong English will continue to play a role on the Hong Kongers and therefore it will keep on advancing along the cycle towards phase 4 "being an interesting test for the Dynamic Model" (Schneider 2007: 139). Interestingly enough, Schneider uses the term 'Hong Kong English' and not 'English in Hong Kong' despite its not having reached phase 4 yet.

4.3. SINGAPORE ENGLISH

Singapore English is the variety of English spoken in Singapore. As Map 3 shows, Singapore is a small island in South-East Asia, near the Malay Peninsula. The total area comprises 650 square kilometers for a population of about 4.3 million inhabitants, making it the second most densely populated country in the world, after Monaco. According to the 2000 census, 77% of the population are ethnically Chinese, 14% are Malay, 8% are Indian and 1% are classified as 'others' which includes Eurasians.

Map 3: Singapore (From Schneider 2007: 144)

Geographically and historically speaking, Singapore has always been linked to Malaysia, and it was briefly a member of the Federation of Malaysia from 1963 to 1965. However, the modern history of Singapore starts on the 29th January 1819 when Stamford Raffles, a British statesman known as 'the Father of Singapore' landed in the South of the island and established a trading post near what is now the Central Business District, as part of the British Empire. Up to that moment, the population was comprised by a small number of Malay farmers and fishing folk, but it soon rose with immigrants

from China and also some from India, who interestingly enough were teachers and would have some significant influence on the English of Singapore.

It was not until 1963 when Singapore gained independence from Britain. It then immediately joined the Malaysian Federation, as we have stated above, and because of tempestuous governmental relationships, Singapore left the Federation and became an independent city-state in 1965.

As to the linguistic situation, traditionally most of the ethnically Chinese inhabitants of Singapore spoke one of the southern varieties of Chinese, among them Cantonese. However, in the late 1970s the government decided to launch the Speak Mandarin Campaign. Their objective was to persuade the population to use Mandarin because the use of so many different Chinese dialects was divisive and on top of that, children used a language at home and they had to learn two more (English and Mandarin) at school.

The campaign was really successful leading to a greater cohesion among the Chinese population and also reducing the learning load of children at school. Furthermore, this has also improved the opportunities for the Singaporean population to do business in China. Unfortunately, this also had some negative linguistic consequences that can be seen nowadays: many young people can no longer communicate with their grandparents, because young people only master Mandarin.

Concerning English, we can state that it is a language spoken by virtually everyone in Singapore. It has been taught at school as the primary medium of all education since 1987 and nowadays 30% of the population speaks English at home according to governmental figures. In the same way, the government promotes bilingualism, giving the chance to become proficient in English and one of the other three official languages in the country.

Taking Schneider's model into account, Singapore has already reached the fourth phase (Schneider 2007: 155). Phase 1 foundation comprises the period between 1819 and 1867. As we have explained above, it was Sir Stamford Raffles who obtained the rights from the Sultan of Johor to establish a trading outpost for the British East India Company, this caused a tremendous influx of traders mainly from China and India, but also from other Asian and European backgrounds (Schneider 2007: 154).

Hence, the transition to phase 2 of exonormative stabilization is associated with the year 1867, when Singapore, being part of the Straits Settlement, became a crown colony. This second phase lasts until 1942, and it is characterized by a continuous Singaporean development. The 1880s saw its population grow tremendously and by the end of the 19th century the government-run schools had expanded with advertisements such as the following: "To English lads is offered a home, and to Chinese lads an opportunity to learn a correct accent and facility in expressing themselves in the English language" (Gupta 1999: 112).

Thus, bilingualism increased through education and at this second phase, local vocabulary continued to be adopted: Singaporeanisms such as *brinjal* 'aubergine', *lalang* 'kind of tall tropical grass', as well as cultural terms: *baju kurong* 'Malay dress for women' or *sinkeh* 'newcomers'(Schneider 2007: 155).

The third phase (ca.1945-ca.1970s) is said to have started during the three years of the Japanese occupation during World War II (Schneider 2007: 155). When the British regained authority, identity matters had already started to change. In the first place, there was a resistance movement that put emphasis on the island's Asian roots, having an eagerly desire for *merdeka* 'independence'. Secondly, this struggle for independence was also supported and promoted by the People's Action Party (PAP).

Hence, everything led to a process of decolonization, with a period of self-government and a Constitution in 1959. Besides, there was a period of unification with Malaysia, finally resulting in independence in 1965. The post-independence years in the decade of the 1970s saw a startling development of the country. The key-words that meant the transition to phase four are modernization, economic growth, language policy and nation building. In terms of politics, the same party has ruled the nation since independence; economically speaking, Singapore has become a highly modern and industrialized country with a novel identity that is really unique. It is a kind of hyphenated identity in which we find European and Asian traits. Before independence, the inhabitants of the island used to feel identified with the Chinese, Tamil or Malay identities, however, now they have a newly Singaporean identity which combines an emphasis on Asian values and a western lifestyle and business.

As for language policy, this has taken into account that Singapore is a multilingual country, so in Foley's words (1998a: 130), "every child is educated in English as a 'First Language' and his/her ethnic language out of the other three official languages (Mandarin, Tamil and Malay) as a 'mother-tongue Second Language'". Consequently, on the one hand, English is a language shared by everybody regardless their background making the country multilingual. On the other hand, unfortunately, 'the mother-tongue Second Language' taught at school, as has been explained in section 3.4, is the standard variety of the language, which is frequently not the dialect spoken at home, making the communication between the elderly and the youth difficult.

According to the 2000 census (Singapore Census of Population), the number of English speakers has risen persistently. If one compares the census from 1990 and the census from 2000, we see that the proportion of Chinese people speaking English at home increased from 19% to 24%, from 6.1% to 7.9% among the Malays and from 32% to 36% among the Indians.

Similarly, it is confirmed that English appears to be the language of the youngest among the Chinese resident population in Singapore. In 2000, 36% of the children aged 5-14 years spoke in English, whereas only 22% of youths aged 15-24 years used it and 25% of those aged 25-54 years. As regards other groups, such as Malay and Indian children, similar figures can be found, so this means that the process of language shift is taking place in all ethnic communities. According to Gupta (1999: 119), a "Singaporean born in the 1970s is almost certain to be able to communicate in and to read English"; the 2000 census reports 71% literacy in English.

In spite of the figures above mentioned, we also have to take into account that the mastery of English is still associated with social class. On the informal level, Singlish or Colloquial Singaporean English has emerged as a distinctive local variant, strongly marked by a Chinese substrate (Schneider 2007: 158). Thus, Singlish is the dialect to show proximity and emotions, being an identity carrier and also present in TV sitcoms such as the successful *Phua Chu Kang Pte Ltd* (1999) or movies such as *Talking Cock* (2002). Therefore, the emergence of this local vernacular form of English generates debate between the government, the 'Speak Good English Movement' and the public in

general which supports Singlish and loves the local TV comedies with Singlish-speaking characters (Tan 2002: 10).

As regards the linguistic peculiarities of Singapore English associated to this phase 4, we can see that Singapore's phonology is quite distinctive, some being an influence from the substrate languages, whereas others are 'genuine indigenous innovations' (Deterding 2005: 12). This phonological change is strong evidence of SingE moving towards phase 5 (endonormative stabilization). As for lexis, the local vocabulary keeps expanding with indigenous lexical compounding such as *airflown* 'freshly imported (food)' or phraseology as in *catch no ball* 'fail to understand' (Schneider 2007: 159). As in the case of IndE, there are morphosyntactic innovations, illustrated by the invariant tag *isn't it?* or the pluralization of certain mass nouns, such as *staffs*; arbitrary omission or insertion of articles; a tendency to omit the copula verb *be* as in '*I damn naughty*' or subjectless sentences as in the case of HKE (Schneider 2007: 159).

Summing up, Schneider (2007: 160) states that Singapore has reached phase 4 and thanks to the multicultural identity construction there is now:

> A general acceptance of the local way of speaking English as a symbolic expression of the pride of Singaporeans in their nation. It encodes both sides of the national identity: its world language character expresses the country's global outreach and striving after economic prosperity, and its distinctively local shape on some linguistic level ties up with the country's location and traditions.

Scholars such as Pakir (2001 quoted in Schneider 2007: 161) argue that "Singaporean English is moving into Kachru's 'Inner Circle." Lim (2001), anticipating phase 5, already documents and discusses ethnic varieties within Singaporean English. The variety has stabilized, and codification is under way: *The Times Chambers Dictionary* of 1997 was the first dictionary to systematically record Singaporeanisms and to advertise precisely this feature (see Schneider (1999: 201–3)). Lim (2004) carries out a comprehensive scholarly analysis and description of distinctive features on the levels of phonology, grammar, and pragmatics, constituting an important step forward in the process of codifying Singapore English.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning the book by Low and Brown (2005), targeted at a general audience of interested Singaporeans but not language specialists, which

contributes to the dissemination of the idea of Singaporean English being a respectable variety in its own right to the broader public (Schneider 2007: 161).

4.4. THE PHILIPPINES ENGLISH

The last variety object of study that will be described is the Philippines English. The Republic of the Philippines (see Map 2) is a sovereign state in South-East Asia in the western Pacific Ocean, which consists of more than 7,000 islands. According to its National Statistics Office, it has a population of more than 92 million people which makes it the 12th most populated country in the world.

As we have seen in the three varieties described before, all of them have been product of the British colonialism; however, in the case of the Philippines, this country is the product of two colonizer countries, firstly the Spanish from the 16th century, to be followed by the United States from 1898. This is the date of the Spanish-American War which ended with the Spanish cession of Philippines to the United States. Three hundred years before, however, the Spaniards established its colony in 1521, calling the native *Indios* and making them convert into Catholicism. The Jesuit orders became really influential in the Philippines and acquired great amounts of property (Espinosa 1997: 9).

However, the opposition to the power of the clergy brought about the rising feeling for independence. Spanish injustices, bigotry, and economic oppressions fed the movement, which was greatly inspired by the brilliant writings of José Rizal. In 1896 revolution began in the province of Cavite, but peace was achieved. Nevertheless, a new revolution was brewing when the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, which ended up with the Spanish cession of the Philippines to America. After the cession, the Americans established a different kind of strategy; their means of assimilation was not religion but mass education.

Consequently, 50 years after the war and the cession, the Filipinos started to adopt everything American, from the form of government, to the language, and of course, the American Dream, as an epitome of Americanness. In fact, they also liked being called by the nickname of 'little brown Americans' (Espinosa 1997: 9).

This, in turn, made English spread rapidly, to the detriment of Spanish. The linguistic policy adopted by the government included incentives to learn the English language such as study abroad in the American continent or recruitment into the civil service (McArthur 1998b: 289). English was the language of government, politics and it was

used in the elementary-school system set up by the colonial government, who sent a first load of 523 American teachers on board the USS Thomas in 1901. 'Thomasites' became the name lovingly applied to all American teachers (Gonzalez (2004: 8) quoted in Schneider (2007: 140)).

After the Great Depression in the United States in the 1930s, the US started to feel the need of the Philippines to be granted independence. It did not come, however, straight away. Firstly, a constitution was approved by President Roosevelt in March 1935 and the Commonwealth of the Philippines was formally established in November of the same year. After World War II, which devastated the land, there was an enormous task of reconstructing a war-torn country. Finally, independence was granted on July 4th 1946 and Manuel Roxas became the first president of the Republic of the Philippines after a period of 400 years of colonial rule, first from the Spanish, and then from the US up to 1946. As the Philippinos commonly explain, "we spent 300 years in the convent, and 50 years in Hollywood." This 50 years of American influence set up the basis of English to succeed in a country where now the English language is seen as a passport to success by not only the business people and the government, but also by the common people who see English as the key to open the door for employment overseas (Bolton; Graddol and Meierkord 2011: 471).

Thus, the linguistic situation is the following. On the one hand, English is the language of education, government, media and business (McFarland 2008: 143), while Tagalog is the most widely spoken indigenous language. Despite its being the most widely spoken indigenous language, we have to take into account the diversity of languages present in the Philippines where some 85 mutually unintelligible though genetically related languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family coexist, including Tagalog.

Similarly, a fact which is important in this study is the case of the superstrates. Although in all the Asian Englishes under study the common superstrate language is English, only in the Philippines English the superstrate language is American English, while with the other three varieties it is British English.

Taking Schneider's model into account, the Philippines is already in phase 3 (Schneider 2007: 140). Phases 1 foundation and 2 exonormative stabilization progressed very rapidly with the arrival of the Americans after the War, together with its linguistic

policy based on declaring English the official language. According to Bolton (2000b: 97) this policy had a tremendous success seen in the statistics: speakers of English rose from 26.6% in 1939 to 36% in 1948, 45% in 1970 and 64.5% in 1980. English was seen as a means for a set of population from difficult neighborhoods to access some education and a civil service job. Thus, instrumental motivation played a key role in the rapid spread of English in the Philippines.

As illustrated in the previous varieties, these two phases are characterized by the adoption of place names deriving from indigenous languages and also vocabulary of flora and fauna such as *camote* 'sweet potato,' *ilang-ilang* 'type of tree,'*carabao* 'water buffalo,' or cultural objects i.e.: *bolo* 'heavy long knife' (Bolton and Butler 2004: 95, 97).

As far as phase 3 is concerned, it is said to have begun a decade before independence. (Schneider 2007: 140). In 1937 the new government decided to develop Tagalog, the *lingua franca* of southern Luzon, into a national language. The Second World War also helped English strengthen. Thus, after the war, a new bilingual education policy was established which promoted both English and Tagalog, being officially renamed Filipino in the 1973 Constitution (Schneider 2007: 141).

Thompson (2003: 34-5) explains that the Marcos era (1965-1980) was the 'Golden Age' for English. Thus, two key factors explain the process of nativization. On the one hand, the bilingual education policy; on the other hand, the multiple uses of English in formal and public contexts in both urban and rural areas. It is the door of well-paid jobs or abroad opportunities. The real situation, however, is one of diglossia: Tagalog is preferred for intimacy, whereas English is the language of education, politics, business and parts of the media. According to Social Weather Stations 2008, "around 75% read in English, 59% write English, 75% understand spoken English, 46% speak English, and 38% think in English. Only 7% claimed no ability in the language".

Special features of the Philippine English include a vocabulary with loans from the preceding colonial language, Spanish; examples of it are *merienda* 'mid-morning or mid-afternoon snack,' or *despedida* 'farewell party,' or from local languages *sayang* 'exclamation expressing sympathy'; new coinages such as idioms *open the radio*, or compounds *comfort room* 'toilet'(Thomson 2003: 53-54). Regarding morphosyntactic

features one finds intransitive uses of verbs which in Standard English are transitive *I cannot afford. I don't like*; pluralization of certain mass nouns, as *hairs* and count uses of non-count nouns e.g. *a research*; or varying prepositions, *interested on*, to mention a few (Schneider 2007: 142).

On the informal level, *Taglish* (a mixed code of English and Tagalog) also known as 'mix-mix' or 'halo-halo' in informal speech, has emerged as a distinctive local variant. As Schneider (2007: 142) points out: "This new variety combines the status-related appreciation associated with English with the sociable qualities of Tagalog and reflects the historically grown hybrid identity of the country".

Similarly, Bolton (2003: 201) observed that "in Manila… the use of 'Taglish' tends to be the unmarked code of choice". Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984: 148) point out an example of the use of 'Taglish' by an educated Filipino: "if I go into an office in Manila and try to get a clerk to do something… if I speak to the clerk in English, the situation becomes over formal; if I mix-mix the situation is easier to handle". This example confirms Bolton's statement: "'Taglish' is a language which expresses Filipino identity" (2003: 201).

Concerning the movement of the Philippines English along the cycle towards phase 4, there are early signs of codification with the recent publication of *Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary* 2000 and there is also a body of Philippine Literature in English (see Bautista and Bolton 2004; Gonzalez 2005). The Spanish language, meanwhile, has been relegated to a college elective and to private gatherings of wealthy clans of Spanish descent.

5. SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The linguistic issue under investigation here is the second person plural pronoun in English. In Present-Day English, the standard form is the pronoun *you*, both for the singular and the plural; in this respect, there is a gap in the paradigm of the pronominal system, having the same pronoun to refer to singular and the plural.

The following examples illustrate the situation of Present-day English. As we can see in the examples, example (1) *you* has a singular reference, speaker 1A is asking speaker 1B about his/her reaction about dancing:

(1) It 's about being able to communicate and relate to th to to anybody that comes into that class<ICE-GB:S1A-001 #41:1:B>
That 's the challenge uhm <ICE-GB:S1A-001 #42:1:B>
How how was it <,> relating <,> to disabled people in the beginning <ICE-GB:S1A-001 #43:1:A>
Presumably **you** 'd never danced <,> in an integrated thing like that <ICE-GB:S1A-001 #44:1:A>
How was it <,> your initial reaction <,,> towards each other <ICE-GB:S1A-001 #45:1:A>
Uhm <ICE-GB:S1A-001 #46:1:B>

Whereas in example (2) we see how speaker A explains in the conversation that "he and I invent languages", that is why speaker B when using the pronoun *you* refers to the second person plural including speaker A and his/her friend. However, it is precisely in example (2) where we can clearly see how difficult it would be to discern whether the pronoun was referring to the second person plural or not without a context.

(2) Uh He he he 's uhm he 's uhm working on his language <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #153:1:A>
How do you mean <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #154:1:B>
Well he he and I invent lang lang languages <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #155:1:A>
Each of us have our our own languages <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #156:1:A>
Can **you** understand each other 's languages <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #157:1:B>
Uhm <,,> well <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #158:1:A>
Well is it a re is it recognizable <ICE-GB:S1A-015 #159:1:B>

In example (2) the clue to know that the speaker is using *you* as a second person plural pronoun is the use of the plural nominal form *each other*. These two examples illustrate the canonical distribution of second-person pronouns in Present-Day English.

Alternative forms for the plural, different from the singular, are being created in non-standard language, as is the case of *youse*, *you all*, *you guys*, *you people* or *you lot.* As can be seen, these forms are more transparent in the sense that *you* is reinforced by means of a marker with plural reference: a plural affix in *youse*, and *all*, *guys* or *people* in the other forms respectively.

However, if we go back to earlier stages of the English language, we will see that the panorama was really different from nowadays. The first documented evidence from English appears in the so-called Old English period. Old English is the term which denotes the period of the English language that goes for approximately seven centuries (c450–1150). Old English was an inflectional language. Accordingly, grammatical information is encoded in inflections. Within the pronominal system, declensions were used to mark the different cases (nominative, accusative, genitive and dative), gender in the third person singular (masculine, feminine, and neuter), and number (singular, plural, and in some pronouns dual) [1] (Irvine 2006: 33).

In the case of the second person, the different forms available in Old English are displayed in Table 3. As can be observed, the paradigm was richer than in PDE since we encounter independent forms for the second person singular and for the plural.

[1] There was a 'dual' person pronoun system in the first and second persons, which disappeared by the 13th century (Crystal 2003: 21).

	first person	**second person**
nominative	*wit* 'we two'	*ġit* 'you two'
accusative	*unc* 'us two'	*inc* 'you two'
genitive	*uncer* 'of us two'	*incer* 'of you two'
Dative	*unc* 'us two'	*inc* 'you two'

Table 3 Old English pronoun paradigm

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	þū 'you'	ġē 'you'
Accusative	þē, (þec) 'you'	ēow 'you'
Genitive	þīn 'your'	ēower 'your'
Dative	þē 'you'	ēow 'you'

These different forms for the singular and the plural are illustrated in the examples below. Example (3) contains *þu*, the form corresponding to the second person singular; in example (4) the form *ge* is unambiguously referring to a plural referent.

(3) 'Hwæðre ***þu*** meaht me singan.'

'However ***you*** can for-me sing.' (from an Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Book 4, Ch. 24 (quoted in Crystal 2003: 20)).

(4) Ac hwæðre he cwyð on oðre stowe; 'Eower heofonlica fæder wat hwæs ge behoWað. Ær þan þe ***ge*** hine æniges þinges biddon';

'And yet he said elsewhere: Your heavenly Father knows what is fitting before **you** pray to him for anything'; (from Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies* (from http://www.apocalyptic-theories.com/literature/aelfpref/oepref.html, accessed on 12th February 2013)).

Moving to the Middle English period, the year 1066 marks the beginning of a new social and linguistic era: the Battle of Hastings and the accession to the throne of William of Normandy led to the introduction of French to Britain (Crystal 2003: 30). This would have tremendous linguistic consequences not only at the lexical level (it has been estimated that 10,000 French words came into English at that time), but also at the morphosyntactic one. One of the most important changes was the decay on inflections, which meant that grammatical relationships came to be expressed by word order.

As regards the situation of the pronominal system in Middle English, the complex system found in OE was reduced, as we can see in Table 4 (Fennell 2001: 102):

Table 4 Middle English pronominal system

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	thou 'you'	ye 'you'
Accusative	thee 'you'	yow 'you'
Genitive	thy, thyn 'your'	youre 'your'
Dative	thee 'you'	yow 'you'

The personal pronoun *you* with singular reference emerged in the 13th century. The strong contact with French affected this emergence. The French distinction *tu* vs. *vous* was a key element in the process. *Vous* (second person plural pronoun in French) came to be used as a polite form of the singular, as an alternative to *tu*. It is likely that the French nobility started to use the English pronouns in the same way they used the French ones (Crystal 2005: 306). Thus, the nominative *thou*, objective *thee* and genitive *thine* came to be used for the singular and *ye-you-your* both for the singular and for the plural, as can be seen in King Lear's speech in example (5).

(5) King Lear: to **thee** and **thine** hereditary ever (…)
Although the last, not least; to whose young love
The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
Strive to be interess'd; what can **you** say to draw
A third more opulent than **your** sisters? Speak.

(*King Lear* Act I, Scene 1)

Example (5) illustrates the sociolinguistic distribution of the second person pronoun singular in terms of power and solidarity relationships (Fennel 2001: 164; Crystal 2005: 308). Both *thou* and *you* are used with a singular referent according to the context, emulating the *Tu* vs. *Vous* distinction (Brown and Gilman 1989) mentioned before. King Lear addresses his daughter using *thee/thine* at the beginning of the speech, the pronoun with singular address and later he changes to *you/your* referring to the same person.

Thus, in this period, factors such as social status played a role in the choice of a pronoun. *You* was used by the upper classes as the standard way to talk to each other, whereas *thou* was the reciprocal form of address used by the lower classes. However, Brown and Gilman (1989: 198) observe that status is not the only factor to be taken into account; there is also an emotive use of pronouns. For instance, when *you* is expected and *thou* is the form used instead, this is an indication that the exchange is emotionally charged. They refer to this feature as the 'easy retractability' of expressive *thou*.

In the second half of the 16th century the use of *you* gains ground as a nominative, already illustrated in example (5), but we can still find *ye* in the nominative in the *Authorized Version* of the Bible (1611) and *you* is still used in this conservative document as the objective form, see example (6):

(6) The Lord deal kindly with **you**, as **ye** have dealt with the dead, and with me. The Lord grant **you** that **ye** may find rest… (Ruth 1, 8-9; Pyles 1971: 202n.)

From the third quarter of the 16th century and towards the end of the 18th century, the pronominal paradigm is reordered and *you* becomes the norm in both subject and object forms. This change from *thou* to *you* has been often explained in terms of sociolinguistic and pragmatic models. Eagleson (1971: 13) explains the shifts in pronouns usage in terms of markedness: "*you* had become the unmarked or neutral form, while *thou* was the marked form, being used to register any important shift not simply in rank but especially in emotion, be it love or anger, respect or contempt". Thus, *thou* disappeared from Standard English during the first half of the 17th century, simplifying the paradigm. *Thou* only remained in regional dialect or as an archaism in plays.

By the early 17th century the distinction between the nominative *ye* and accusative *you* case of this pronoun had been obscured, and the use of *you* became significantly more frequent. Fennell (2001: 142) points out two reasons to account for this. On the one hand, the reduction of the case system; on the other hand, an unstressed pronunciation of the vowels in these two forms which made them be pronounced almost identically as [j@] or [jV] (Fennell 2001: 142).

This can also be seen in Shakespeare's works, as Crystal (2008: 195) points out: "the hugely dominant form was *you* –over 13,000 instances in the plays, compared with just

342 of *ye*. And the two forms at times seem interchangeable", as example (7) from the play *Antony and Cleopatra* (Act 2, Scene 2) shows:

(7) MECAENAS: If it might please **you**, to enforce no further
The griefes betweene **ye**: to forget them quite,
Were to remember: that the present neede,
Speakes to attone you

Reaching PDE, if we explore the different grammars from the last 30 years onwards, we can see that the vast majority has no room for the newly created pronominal forms for the second person plural or they include a very small section that deals with them.

Starting with Quirk et al. (1985: 344), they include in their grammar a footnote in the section pronouns and numerals, stating that: "in the second person pronoun, plural reference is sometimes indicated by lexical additions, e.g.: *you people*, *you boys*, and <esp AmE> *you guys*." In the same way, it includes the following information about *youse*: "the low-prestige plural form *youse* /ju:z/ current in Northern AmE and certain areas of Britain such as Liverpool and Glasgow. In Southern AmE, by contrast, the singular/plural distinction has been re-formed through suffixation of the originally plural form: *you-all (y'all* /jO:l/)".

Biber et al. (1999: 330) mention in their grammar the fact that it is not always clear in PDE whether the second person pronoun refers to one or more people and therefore, they include examples of new forms for the second person plural pronoun taken from the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus[2] (LSWE Corpus) such as:

(18) And what did **you all** talk about? (NEWS)

(19) **You two** are being over optimistic. (FICT)

(20) **You imperialists** stick together, don't you? (FICT)

[2] According to the LSWE Corpus, *you all* is particularly common, occurring around 50 times per million words in British conversation, and 150 times per million words in American conversation (including both you all and y'all). *You two* is found about 40 times per million words in British conversation and 20 times per million words in American conversation.

(21) Are **you guys** serious? (FICT)

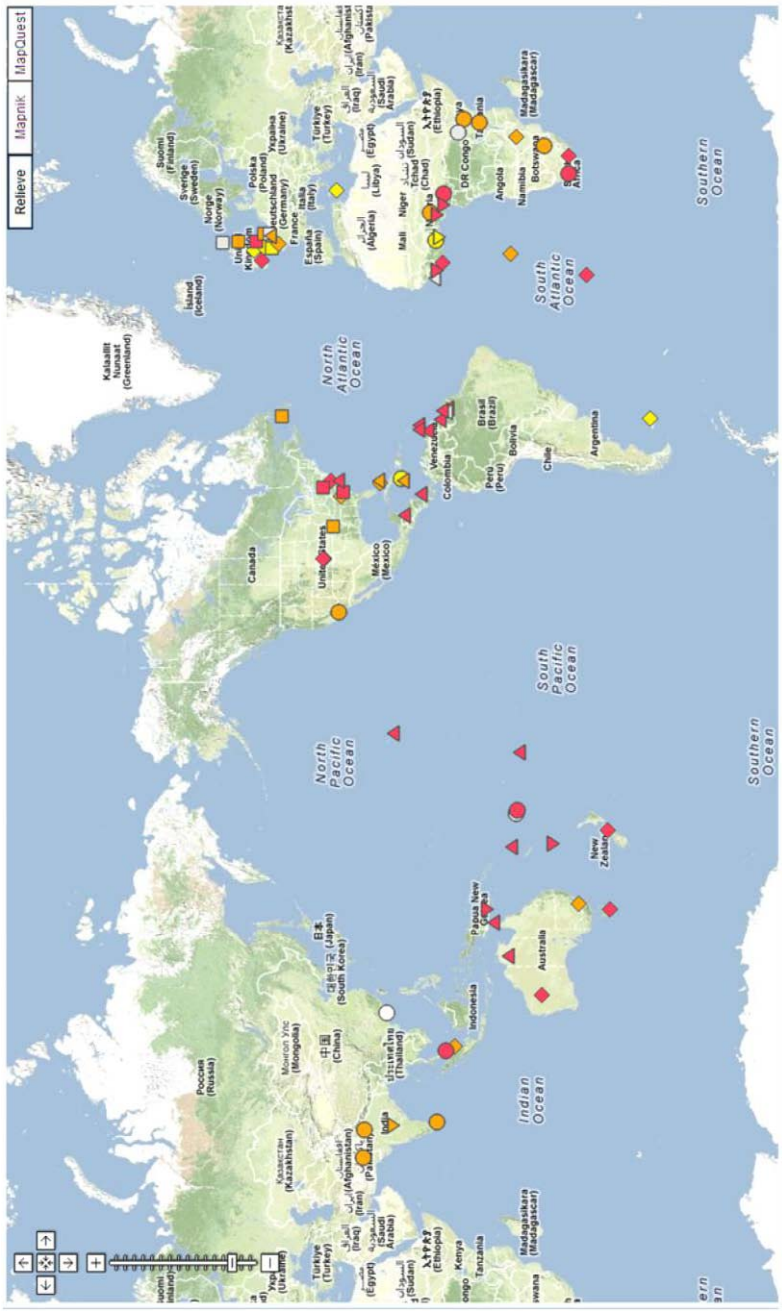
This grammar also includes a section with the dialectal form *yous* "filling the gap left by the absence of number contrast for *you* in modern standard English" (1999:330):

(22) I am sick to death of **yous** – All **yous** do is fight and ruck and fight – do you ever see a house like it Albert? (CONV).

Interestingly enough, reaching the 21st century, we find the existence of manuals and grammars which do not include any section tackling the existence of unambiguous forms for the second person plural. Examples of these publications are Bauer (2002) or Huddleston and Pullum, G (2002). By contrast, the existence of alternative forms for the second person plural in non-standard varieties of the English language and in informal registers is registered in catalogues such as Kortmann and Schneider (2004) and Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2011).

Concretely, Kortmann & Schneider (2004:) in their handbook establish a series of pronouns e.g. *youse*, *y'all*, *aay*' , *yufela*, *you together*, *all of you*, *you ones*/*'uns*, *you guys*, *you people* that are recurrent in the emerging varieties of English. Similarly, in the *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2011) we find 235 different non-standard linguistic features which occur in the Anglophone world, and the use of alternative forms for the second person plural pronoun other than *you* (feature 34), is one of the most pervasive features in the catalogue, being present in 90.5% of the varieties which include L1, L2 and creoles languages.

Thus, feature 34, second person plural forms other than *you* is reflected in Map 4 below.



Map 4 From http://www.ewave-atlas.org/

Controlled Values:

●	(36)	A	Feature is pervasive or obligatory
●	(23)	B	Feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
●	(8)	C	Feature exists, but is extremely rare
○	(6)	D	Attested absence
○	(0)	X	Not applicable
○	(1)	?	Don't know

According to the caption above, in 36 varieties (such as New Zealand English or Malaysan English) the feature of alternative forms for the second person plural other than *you* is pervasive (see red spots). In 23 varieties (including Indian English or Colloquial Singapore English) the feature occurs, being neither pervasive nor extremely rare (see orange spots). We find only 8 varieties (see yellow spots) where the feature exists, but is rare (these are the cases of Jamaican English or Maltese English) and there are only 6 varieties in which alternative forms for the second person plural other than *you* are absent (see grey spots), namely in: Acrolectal Fiji English, Ugandan English, Krio (Sierra Leona Creole), Saramaccan, English Dialects in the Southeast of England, and Orkney and Shetland English.

Interestingly enough, the eWAVE reports a variety, which is Hong Kong English, where it is not known whether the feature exists or not. Thus, the fact that no information is given about Hong Kong English makes the study of these alternative forms in our corpus important to shed some light on the topic. Similarly, no information is given about the Philippines English, being another interesting case of study.

As regards the existence of alternative forms other than *you* in the rest of Asian Englishes under study, the information from the eWAVE allows us to know that in SingE and IndE (see orange spots) the feature occurs, being neither pervasive nor extremely rare.

These new forms are found in varieties of English worldwide. They are attested in high-contact L1s such as Welsh English as in:

(23) All **youse** lot come with me the rest of you stay where **youse** is. (eWave 901)

They can also be found in traditional L1s such as the English dialects in the southwest of England as in example (24):

(24) Sell that to **you people** (eWave 1076)

Or in Indigenized L2s such as Malaysian English as in example (25):

(25) I'll meet **you all** at the Cheras Toll (eWave 164)

Even in Creoles such as Bahamian Creole example (26):

(26) I like to talk to please **you-all**, but not to please myself (eWave 1274)

All in all, this section has shown the existence of an independent pronominal form for the second person plural throughout the history of the English language. We have seen how *you* became the unmarked form during the 17th century, after a period full of changes, namely the number distinction was blurred once the original forms became distributed in terms of power and solidarity relationships and consequently, the originally singular form *thou*, which became the form used among lower social classes, disappeared, making *you* the form used in all contexts.

Nowadays, apart from the canonical form *you* used for the second person singular and the second person plural, we have seen the appearance of new forms in the whole Anglophone world (L1, L2, and creoles) which are explicitly marked for the plural, as shown in Map 4, thus avoiding the ambiguity caused by the canonical form in second person plural contexts. The result is that the gap in the pronominal paradigm of the second person is being filled by these newly created forms, which are more transparent than the canonical form *you*.

6. DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS AND DATA ANALYSIS

6.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS

The data under analysis here are drawn from the ICE corpora (International Corpus of English). They are intended to represent an educated standard variety of English spoken in the countries above mentioned (http://ice-corpora.net/ice/). The texts in the corpus date from 1990 or later and they include the speech of adult aged 18 or above, both females and males who were born or raised in the country and therefore received their education in English.

I selected the texts codified as S1A which belong to the Spoken Private Dialogue Section of the ICE corpora, and represent the most vernacular type of language, therefore the style where more variation is expected (Miller 2006: 689). Thus, I decided to analyze the four Asian varieties in the ICE project which contain a spoken section, namely, Hong Kong English, The Philippines English, Indian English and Singapore English[3]. The corresponding texts of ICE-GB were also analyzed but the automatic search rendered no examples of second person plural form other than *you*, specifically *you people*, *you guys* and ultimately, *you all*; 4 examples of *you all* were retrieved in the automatic analysis, but they were finally discarded in the manual filtering because they were not clear examples of a plural pronoun as can be seen in the following example (27), where one does not know whether it refers to a second person plural (*you all)* or whether it is a determiner (*all*) in the noun phrase *all the rest of it*[4]:

(27) And I said oh hi how are **you all** the rest of it because I haven't spoken for a few weeks because of my <,> work and everything yeah <,> (<ICE-GB:S1A-094 #96:1:B>.

In each of the 4 Asian varieties, in addition to the canonical form *you*, the following forms of the pronoun were searched, namely *you all* (example (28)), *you guys* (example (29)) and *you people* (example (30)):

[3] In the ICE Corpora one can also find the corpus of Sri Lanka, although currently it is only available in its written version.

[4] The fact that I do not have access to the recordings prevents us from looking at intonation patterns which will help us in the process of deciding the reference of ambiguous pronouns such example (30).

(28) Do you say that <,> uh because **you all** are studying in the Hindi medium <ICE-IND:S1A-042#236:1:A>

(29) Are **you guys** hungry<,> <ICE-PHI:S1A-012#145:1:B>

(30) I mean <{1> <[1> **you people** are hard working and </[1> usually we have seen that Arts students are very lazy <ICE-IND:S1A-056#87:1:A>

The forms *youse* and *you lot*, recorded in different varieties of the world such as Welsh English or dialects of Northern America and Southern England (Kortmann and Lunkeimer 2011: feature 34), were also included in the search but no examples were found in any of the varieties selected for this study.

The forms *you guys*, *you people* and *you all* were analyzed in 100 texts from each variety (S1A 1-100); each text contains 2000 words which makes a total 200,000 words per variety and a final total amount of 800,000 words. Additionally, the canonical form *you* was also included, but in this case the first 50 texts from the S1A group, were analyzed, as the sample is very representative due to the high-frequency of the item under analysis. In order to facilitate comparison, the results were conveniently normalized.

Thus, the examples were automatically retrieved using AntConc 3.2.1, a concordance program which rendered a total of 16405 instances of these pronouns, which distribute as follows: 16226 are instances of *you* (both singular and plural), 131 of *you all*, 40 of *you guys* and only 8 of *you people*. All the examples had to be analyzed manually, especially those of *you*, in order to exclude cases of singular *you* as in example (31):

(31) How do **you** feel the weather here <ICE-IND:S1A-001#12:1:B>
I feel very hot <$A> <ICE-IND:S1A-001#13:1:A>

And the case of *you* ambiguous between a singular and a plural reading as in example (32):

(32) So for **you** to be able to go there **you** have to be a member so **you** have to pay <{> <[> a membership fee <ICE-PHI:S1A-012#84:1:A>

Similarly, the same was done with the form *you all* with ambiguous examples such as (33) (and example (31) above) in which it is not clear whether *you all* refers to a second

person plural pronoun or whether it is part of the noun phrase *all the necessary things*, with *all* functioning as determiner:

(33) And also uh will give **you all** the necessary things that you should have <ICE-HK:S1A-074#242:1:A>

After the manual analysis, and its corresponding normalization, the total number of the examples of forms representing second person plural pronoun which forms the corpus is 385 and they distribute as follows:

Table 5 Overall distribution of the second person plural forms in Asian Englishes

Form	Total
You	262
You all	75
You guys	40
You people	8
Total	385

As have been said above, in order to compensate for the different number of words analyzed, especially in the case of *you*, normalized frequencies had to be carried out in order to compare the results. The normalization of the form *you* was done per 800,000 words which is the total number of words in our corpus and these are the frequencies included in the tables and figures. I followed the formula provided by Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (1998: 263-4 quoted in Meyer 2002: 126) for normalizing frequencies. Using this formula to calculate the number of *you* forms occurring per 800,000 words in the four varieties of ICE analyzed in the corpus (Table 5), one divides the number of *you* forms (131) by the length of the corpus in which they occurred (400,000) and multiplies this number by 800,000 (that is the total number of words which were analyzed):

$$(131/400{,}000) \times 800{,}000 = 262$$

6.2. DATA ANALYSIS

Figure 4 displays the overall distribution of the data:

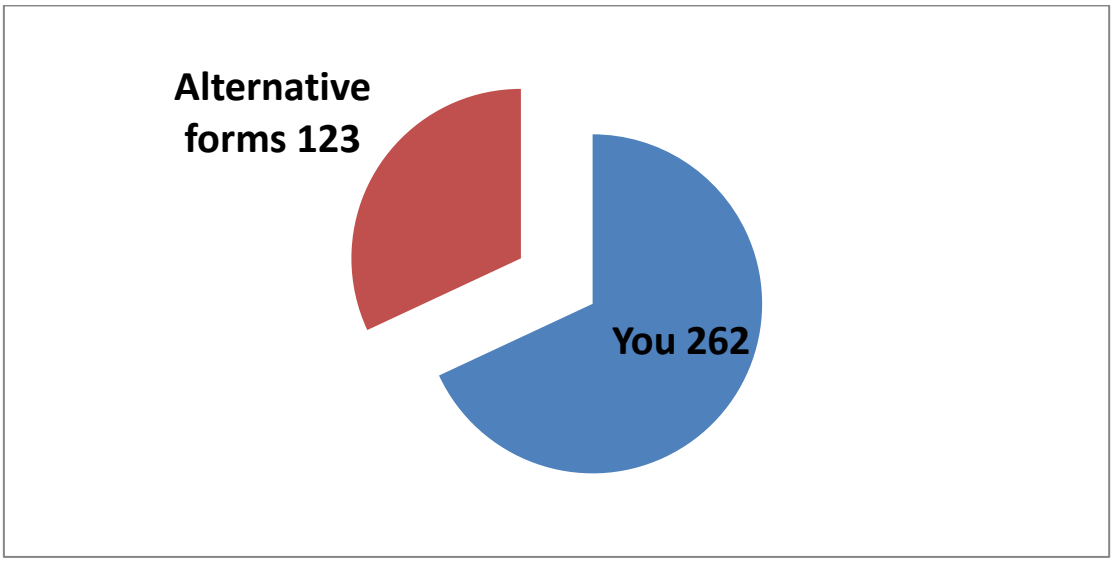


Figure 4. Overall distribution of second person plural forms in Asian Englishes

In the global distribution, we can see in Figure 4 that 123 instances of alternative forms for the second person plural are found, namely *you all* (75 instances), *you guys* (40 instances) and *you people* (8 instances). As for the canonical *you* (referring to second person plural), it is the most frequent form represented by 262 instances. However, although *you* is the most frequent form, alternative forms in our corpus represent one third of the total number of examples (32%). Thus, despite the fact that *you* is more numerous (68%), alternative forms are clearly competing with it to fill the paradigm of the second person plural form in Asian Englishes.

6.2.1. Distribution of variants expressing second person plural referent

Table 6 below sets out the variants found as distributed in the different ESEAEs. The grouping of variants includes the canonical form *you* (always referring to second person plural) and the emergent new forms namely: *you all*, *you guys* and *you people*.

Table 6. Forms expressing second person plural in Private Dialogue in Asian Varieties

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[5]	62 (49.6)	44 (69.8)	114 (82.6)	42 (71.2)	262 (68)
You all	59 (47.2)	12 (19.1)	4 (2.9)	-	75 (19.5)
You guys	3 (2.4)	-	20 (14.5)	17 (28.8)	40 (10.4)
You people	1 (0.8)	7 (11.1)	-	-	8 (2.1)
Total	125	63	138	59	385

In all varieties we see the existence of alternative forms for the second person plural other than *you.* In the case of SingE, we find that more than half of the forms (50.4%) belong to pronouns other than *you,* thus outnumbering the canonical form. In the same way, we observe that the canonical form *you* is in close competence with the form *you all* (62 instances against 59). In both IndE and PhilE, alternative forms represent around 30% of the total, having *you all* as the second most frequent form in IndE, whereas in PhilE the second most frequent form is the pronoun *you guys.* As for HKE, it is the variety in which alternative forms present the lowest incidence (17.4%), being *you guys* the second most frequent form, and much less frequent *you all* (only 4 instances). Regarding the form *you people*, it is clearly the minority pronoun, and with the exception of one example in SingE, the rest of the cases occur in IndE (7 instances); in HKE and PhilE no instances of this pronoun were found. By contrast, IndE shows no instances of the pronoun *you guys*.

While investigating the history and sociolinguistics of the four Asian Englishes chosen for the study, I searched for the pronoun paradigm in each of the dominant substrates in

[5] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

the four Asian Englishes, in order to see whether these substrates might have some influence regarding second person plural pronoun over the World English variety analyzed. Thus, one finds the presence of different pronouns for the singular and for the plural referent in each corresponding substrate. In the first place, SingE has Mandarin Chinese as its dominant substrate, which presents a distinctive pronoun for the singular and the plural referent, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Forms expressing second person in English and Mandarin

	ENGLISH PRONOUNS	MANDARIN PRONOUNS
SINGULAR	*you* 2nd pers sg	你 – nǐ
PLURAL	*you* 2nd pers pl	你們 – nǐmen

The form referring to second person singular is *nǐ*, whereas the one that refers to second person plural is *nǐmen*, thus having two distinctive forms that avoid ambiguity.

Secondly, HKE has Cantonese as their dominant substrate, which, as can be seen, also presents two differentiated pronouns to refer to the singular or plural reality:

Table 8. Forms expressing second person in English and Cantonese

	ENGLISH PRONOUNS	CANTONESE PRONOUNS
SINGULAR	*you* 2nd pers sg	你 - nei
PLURAL	*you* 2nd pers pl	你**哋** - neideih

As can be inferred, the plural forms are produced in regular fashion by adding the suffix *-deih* to the corresponding singular forms (Yip and Matthews 2000: 17). This fact could be of importance in the choice of using an alternative form for the second person plural

instead of a canonical form, since HKE has two differentiated forms in Cantonese to refer to the singular or plural reality.

In the third place, although IndE has multiple substrates, its dominant one is Hindi where the following pronouns are found:

Table 9. Forms expressing second person in English and Hindi

	ENGLISH PRONOUNS	HINDI PRONOUNS
SINGULAR	*you* 2nd pers sg	*Tuu* (Intimate)
		– tum
PLURAL	*You* 2nd pers pl	*– tum*
		- tum log (*you people*)
		आप *aap (form of respect)*
		आप *aap log (form of respect you people)*

As can be seen, Hindi has a very complex pronominal system in which intimacy and relationships among the speakers play a very important role (Agnihotri 2007: 131). We find three distinct second person pronouns. The first pronoun *tuu* is used with great care, in contexts of intimacy, love and affection, used with one's mother, God and Goddesses and close friends (in informal conversation). It can also show contempt, anger and disgust.

Concerning *– tum*, it is seen as the intermediate form, neutral in terms of politeness and used among equals and it can be used with singular or plural referent. By contrast, आप *aap, used with plural referents, is the most honorific form. Interestingly enough, one also encounters the combination of - tum log* (*you people*)which is the result of *adding the plural marker log* (meaning people) to the second person pronoun. In fact, the existence of the pronoun *you people* in IndE, the

variety in which this form of the pronoun occurs more frequently, can be a sign of the influence of Hindi on the new variety of English, since it is seems that IndE speakers are producing an equivalent of the Hindi pronoun in the English variety.

Finally, PhilE has Tagalog as its dominant substrate, in which again distinct forms for the second person singular (*ikáo*) and the second person plural (*kayó*) are found as can be seen in Table 10 (MacKinlay 1905: 35-36).

Table 10. Forms expressing second person in English and Tagalog

	ENGLISH PRONOUNS	TAGALOG PRONOUNS
SINGULAR	*you* 2nd pers sg	*ikáo*
PLURAL	*You* 2nd pers pl	*kayó*

The different substrates show the existence of different pronouns for the singular and for the plural referent, which reinforce the presence of new plural forms in the analyzed varieties of English, as illustrated by the results from Table 6. In all the varieties I witness a tendency for the canonical *you* to share its space with other alternative pronouns. This is justified by the use of second person plural forms other than *you* in informal and vernacular varieties of English, 'Worldwide Top 11' most frequent features (see section 5) reported by Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1154) and as also recognized as one of the most attested features (90.5%) by Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2011: feature 34) in *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English*.

The presence of different second person forms for the singular and the plural in the dominant substrate languages of the analyzed varieties also reinforces the use of forms other than *you* in the different Englishes. Although such forms occur in all the varieties under analysis, in SingE they outnumber the canonical form and we see how *you* (unmarked form) and especially *you all* (marked form) are competing with each other to fill the gap found in the pronominal system in PDE. Interestingly enough, as has been seen in section 4.2., according to Schneider's Dynamic Model, SingE is the most advanced variety from the four analyzed here, since it is currently undergoing phase 4; Table 6, thus, shows us that in line with its evolution, SingE is the variety which has a

the clearest competition between the canonical pronoun and the alternative form, having also more presence of alternative forms (63) than of the canonical form *you* (62), followed by IndE and PhilE; HKE is the variety which shows the lowest frequency of forms other than *you* to refer to the second person plural.

In the same way, the presence of superstrates, BrE in HKE, IndE and SingE and AmE in the case of the PhilE may have some influence in the appearance of alternative forms in SEAEs, concretely in the PhilE, where the only alternative form competing with the canonical form is the form *you guys*, a traditionally ascribed American pronoun (Maynor 2000: 416; Heyd 2010: 35).

6.2.2 Distribution of variants per syntactic function

The variable analyzed here is the syntactic function of the pronoun within the clause and the role that the syntactic function could play in the choice of a canonical form or an

alternative form for the second person plural. The choice of this variable was made in order to see whether a concrete form is more likely to appear with a determined syntactic function or not. Thus, I divided the syntactic functions into two main groups: subject and non-subject (this group includes direct objects, indirect objects and complements of preposition).

Examples of second person plural forms functioning as subject in the ICE Corpora include:

(34) I thought **you all** are always generous < ICE-SIN:S1A-006#118:1:B>

(35) So **you**'re just going to contribute into the pool lah or something like that <ICE-SIN:S1A-017#89:1:A>

(36) Trish is like I feel bad that **you guys** broke up but I don't feel that bad oh but I feel worse that I 'm not sincere I mean in<ICE-PHI:S1A-015#53:1:A>

(37) Okay and <,> I think **you people** have even computers as one subject> <ICE-IND:S1A-061#136:1:B>

Examples functioning as non-subject:

(38) Yeah I always I always tell her that <,,> uh she should meet **you guys** <$<ICE-HK:S1A-091#416:1:A> (*you guys* functioning Direct Object)

(39) If if I 'm still here I 'll go with **you guys** <$B> <ICE-PHI:S1A-012#95:1:B> (*you guys* functioning as complement of the preposition *with*)

(40) Aye can't I make **you all** a drink <$A> <ICE-SIN:S1A-083#14:1:A> (*you all* functioning as Indirect Object)

Initially, I distinguished four different syntactic functions (subject, direct object, indirect object and complement of preposition), but I finally decided to conflate the last three into a category 'non-subject' in order to guarantee representativity and avoid very low

numbers in the data analysis, especially regarding the distribution of forms other than *you*.

The distribution of forms according to syntactic function is shown in Figure 5:

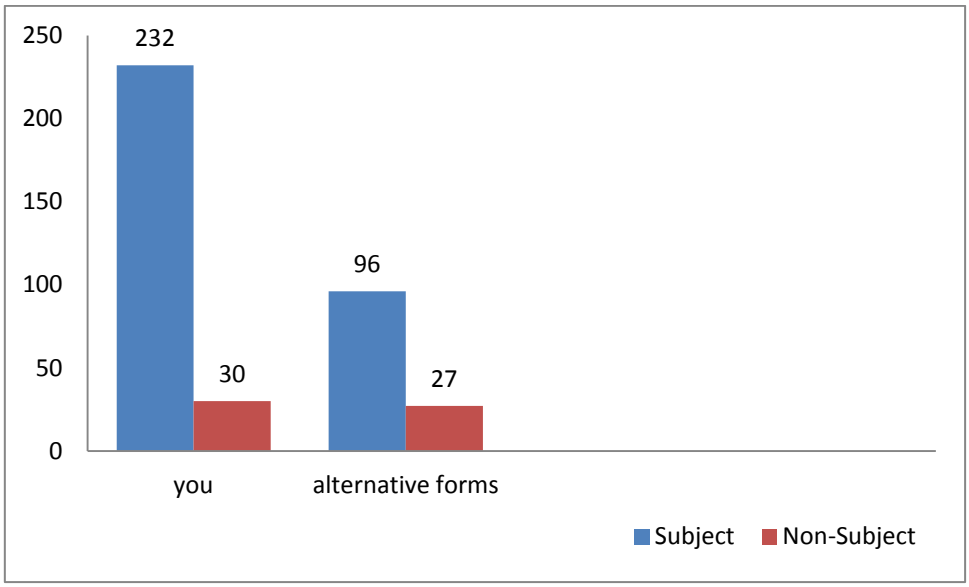


Figure 5. Distribution of forms functioning as subject and non-subject in Private Dialogue in Asian Varieties

Thus, although we see in Figure 5 that the majority of tokens in the corpus belong to forms for the second person plural that have the subject as syntactic function (328 instances: 232 forms of *you* and 96 *you people*/*all*/*guys*), in non-subject function, by contrast, we see how alternative forms (27 instances) closely compete with the canonical *you* (30 instances).

Table 11 below shows the distribution of the variables in terms of the syntactic function subject.

Table 11. Forms functioning as subject in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total

You[6]	54 (54)	40 (67.8)	98 (83.1)	40 (78.4)	232 (70.7)
You all	43 (43)	12 (20.3)	3 (2.5)	-	58 (17.7)
You guys	2 (2)	-	17 (14.4)	11 (21.6)	30 (9.2)
You people	1 (1)	7 (11.9)	-	-	8 (2.4)
Total	100	59	118	51	328

As can be seen, in the four varieties analyzed in our corpus, the highest percentages are represented by the canonical form *you* (70.7%), although alternative forms represent 29.3% of the instances in subject position. The most remarkable findings here concern SingE, where again the emergent form *you all* (43 instances) competes with the canonical form *you* (54 instances). In IndE, both *you all* (20.3%) and *you people* (11.9%) are in competition with *you*, which amounts to 67.8%.

In HKE and PhilE, on the other hand, *you* is by far and large the dominant form (83.1%) and (78.4%) respectively, but alternative forms are also present, particularly *you guys*.

Table 12 presents the second person plural forms in the category non-subject:

Table 12. Forms functioning as non-subject in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[7]	8 (32)	4 (100)	16 (80)	2 (25)	30 (52.6)
You all	16 (64)	-	1 (5)	-	17 (29.8)
You guys	1 (4)	-	3 (15)	6 (75)	10 (17.6)
You people	-	-	-	-	-
Total	25	4	20	8	57

Regarding the syntactic function non-subject, we can see from Table 12 above that although *you* is more frequently found (52.6%) than alternative forms (47.4%), the

[6] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

[7] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

distribution between canonical and non-canonical forms is more balanced than functioning as subjects. It is very important to highlight the increase of other forms than *you* functioning as non-subjects (*you all* and *you guys*), so as to become almost as frequently used as *you*; no instances of the pronoun *you people* functioning as non-subject are found in any of the varieties. Interestingly enough, in both SingE and PhilE alternative forms for the second person plural represent the preferred pronoun in the category non-subject, with frequencies of 68 and 75 respectively. The case of PhilE is noteworthy in that the distribution of forms as non-subjects reverses with respect to what has been seen in Table 11. Table 12 shows that *you guys* is the favorite form as non-subject, more frequently used than *you*, although the low number of examples forces us to treat these data with care. In SingE, in line with what has been observed in the general distribution shown in Table 6, *you all* is the most frequent form with 16 instances, therefore being the favorite option as non-subject. In HKE, the distribution of forms functioning as subjects is kept as non-subjects: the canonical form is the most frequent pronoun (80%), and we find also the existence of *you all* and *you guys* that complete the paradigm. The results from IndE are surprising in the light of the general distribution from Figure 5 where alternative non-subject forms were in strong competition with *you*, much more clearly than as subjects.

6.2.3 Distribution of variants per clause type

The variable analyzed here is the type of clause that accompanied the canonical form or the alternative form. I examined the distribution of the pronominal forms in different clause types, in order to see whether some major sentence types are more prototypical to have a canonical form or an alternative form. Therefore, I classified the sentence types into declaratives and non-declaratives. However, we have to take into account the fact that the texts chosen represent spoken language and no signs of intonation are included, therefore, within non-declarative structures it was quite difficult to discern the interrogatives, being a matter of qualitative analysis (looking at word order, question tags and context). Similarly, it was impossible to recognize exclamative sentences or imperatives ones without having exclamation marks, prosodic features, or access to recordings.

Some examples extracted from the ICE corpus that provide instances of alternative forms include:

(41) What did **you guys** talk last Friday <ICE-PHI:S1A-088#49:1:B> (Non-declarative: Interrogative)

(42) Oh When did **you all** live > <ICE-SIN:s1a-002#237:1:B> (Non-declarative: Interrogative)

(43) I mean <{1> <[1> **you people** are hard working <ICE-IND:S1A-056#87:1:A> (Declarative)

The distribution of forms according to clause type is shown in Figure 6.

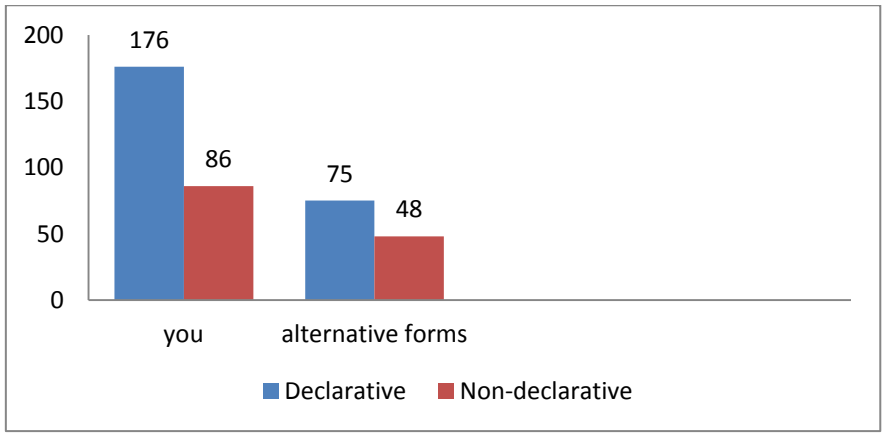


Figure 6. Overall distribution of pronouns per clause type

Thus, results show that the majority of clauses are declarative (251 instances), whereas 134 are non-declarative. These results, however, are not surprising, since it is a typical finding in sociolinguistic studies of English that declaratives are more frequently used than other clause types such as interrogatives (see results Heyd 2010: 50).

Table 13 below shows the distribution of declarative clauses in the four AsEs.

Table 13. Distribution of second person plural forms in declarative clauses in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[8]	48 (56.4)	26 (65)	88 (84.6)	14 (63.6)	176 (70.1)
You all	34 (40)	8 (20)	3 (2.9)	-	45 (17.9)
You guys	2 (2.4)	-	13 (12.5)	8 (36.4)	23 (9.2)
You people	1 (1.2)	6 (15)	-	-	7 (2.8)
Total	85	40	104	22	251

In all varieties the canonical *you* is the most frequent form, having the highest incidence in HKE (84.6%) and the lowest in SingE (56.4%), corroborating the distribution shown in previous tables. IndE and PhilE show similar frequencies of use, 65% and 63.6% respectively. In SingE, *you all* is the second most frequent form, as well as in IndE (together with *you people*), whereas in PhilE and HKE it is the form *you guys* the second most frequent.

Table 14. below sets out the distribution of non-declarative clauses in the four Asian varieties of English.

[8] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

Table 14 Distribution of second person plural pronouns in non-declarative clauses in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[9]	14 (35)	18 (78.3)	26 (76.5)	28 (75.7)	86 (63.7)
You all	25 (62.5)	4 (17.4)	1 (2.9)	-	30 (23)
You guys	1 (2.5)	-	7 (20.6)	9 (24.3)	17 (12.6)
You people	-	1 (4.3)	-	-	1 (0.7)
Total	40	23	34	37	134

In non-declarative structures, the distribution differs with respect to declarative structures. As Table 14 shows, in SingE the most frequent form for a non-declarative clause is the form *you all* (25 instances), outnumbering the canonical *you* (14 instances). Interestingly enough, the alternative form *you all* stands out in this marked context (non-declaratives). In the rest of the Asian Varieties analyzed *you* continues to be the majority form in non-declarative clauses. In HKE and PhilE the second most frequent pronoun is *you guys* with 7 instances and 9 instances respectively.

6.2.4 Distribution of variants per polarity

[9] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

Additionally, another variable included in my study was the clausal polarity, whether positive or affirmative and negative. By looking at polarity one can know whether alternative forms or, by contrast, the canonical *you* are more frequent with affirmative or negative constructions.

Examples extracted from the ICE corpus include:

(44) But she said why don't **you all** <O> one word </O> include me in L three instead of doing this <ICE-IND:S1A-091#304:1:C> (negative)

(45) Because <,> uh **you guys** have to get the passport a visa <,> and make sure ICE-HK:S1A-063#416:1:A> (affirmative)

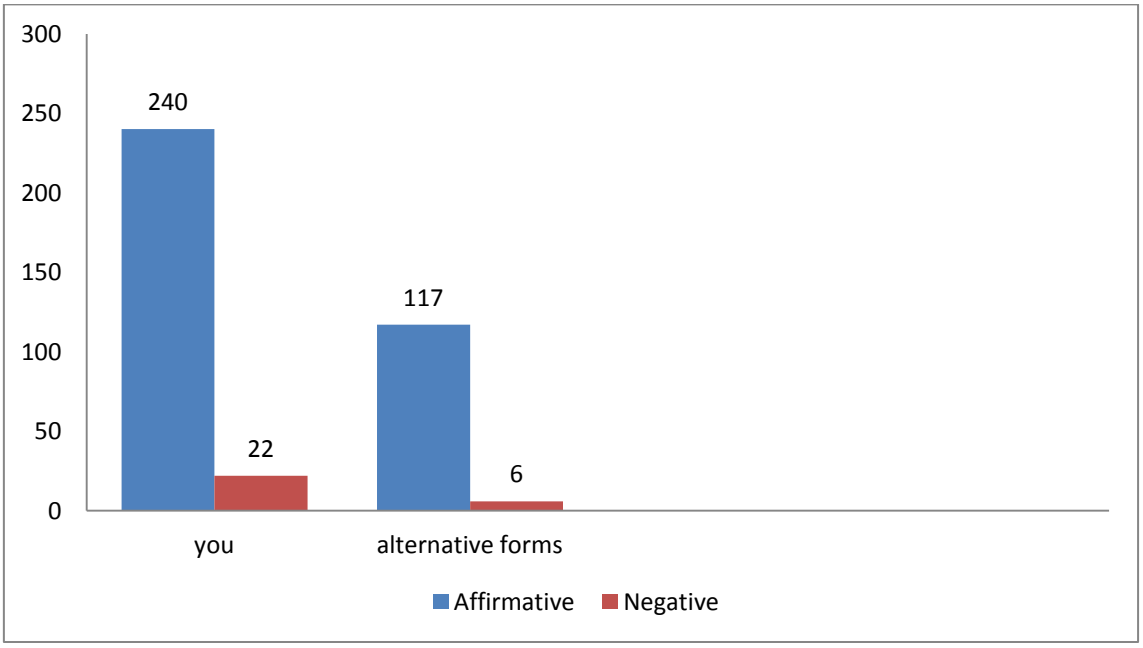


Figure 7. Distribution of second person plural pronouns in terms of polarity

The general distribution can be seen in figure 7 above, where results show that affirmative clauses outnumber by far negative ones (357 instances vs. 28). The distribution shows that canonical *you* is the form chosen for both affirmative (240 instances) and negative constructions (22 instances) over alternative forms, 117 instances and 6 instances respectively.

Table 15 below shows the distribution of pronouns in affirmative clauses in AsEs.

Table 15 Distribution of second person plural pronouns in affirmative clauses in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[10]	62 (51.2)	38 (67.9)	100 (81.3)	40 (70.2)	240 (67.2)
You all	55 (45.5)	11 (19.6)	4 (3.3)	-	70 (19.6)
You guys	3 (2.5)	-	19 (15.4)	17 (29.8)	39 (10.9)
You people	1 (0.8)	7 (12.5)	-	-	8 (2.3)
Total	121	56	123	57	357

In SingE *you all* closely competes with *you* to be the dominant pronoun. The canonical *you* still outnumbers *you all*, but only very slightly (62 vs. 55 instances). In the rest of AsEs, the canonical *you* is the favored form, in IndE used 67.9% of the times and in PhilE in 70.2%, and more markedly in HKE, 81.3%. Thus, this distribution is similar to the overall distribution explained in Table 6 in that there is a strong competition between the canonical form and the alternative form *you all* in SingE, whereas in the rest of AsEs canonical forms continue to dominate.

Table 16 below sets out the distribution of the pronouns in negative clauses.

[10] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

Table 16 Distribution of second person plural pronouns in negative clauses in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You	-	6 (85.7)	14 (93.3)	2 (100)	22 (78.6)
You all	4 (100)	1 (14.3)	-	-	5 (17.8)
You guys	-	-	1 (6.7)	-	1 (3.6)
You people	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4	7	15	2	28

Table 16 shows that *you* is the favourite form in all the varieties, with the exception of SingE, in which *you all* is the only form found in negative clauses, showing again that in this variety, alternative forms, and *you all* more specifically is the form chosen in marked contexts (negatives) whereas in the rest of AsEs, the canonical *you* is the majority form.

6.2.5. Distribution of variants in terms of type of verb

The last variable analyzed in my corpus is the variable type of verb. The purpose of the analysis of this variable was to observe whether alternative forms were more likely to appear with lexical verbs (simple VPs) or with auxiliary verbs in complex VPs. Some examples included in the ICE corpora are:

(46) huh So are **you guys** going to like uh <,,> one place at a time and check it out <ICE-HK:S1A-091#708:1:A> (auxiliary verb)

(47) That's why **you** don't need oil <ICE-HK:S1A-032#339:1:A> (auxiliary verb)

(48) I 'm sure **you all** hear about the lost <unc> three words <ICE-HK:S1A-025#X562:1:Z> (lexical verb)

Figure 8 shows the distribution of the second person plural pronoun in terms of type of verb.

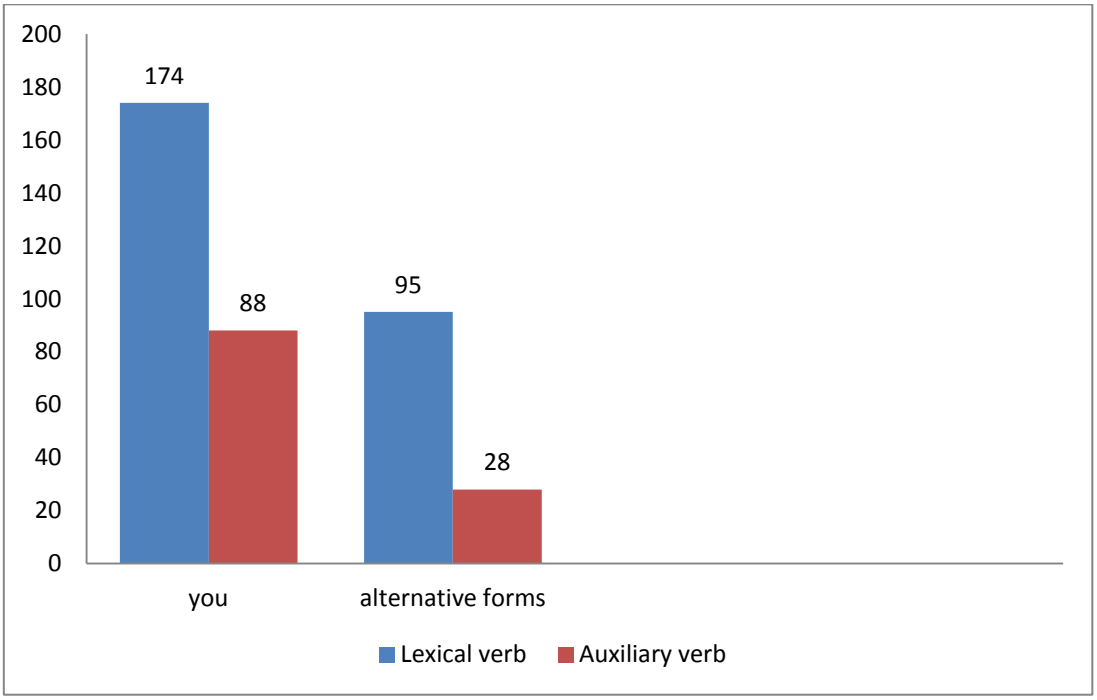


Figure 8 Distribution of second person plural pronouns with lexical and auxiliary verbs

Results show that lexical verbs (269 instances) are more frequent than auxiliary verbs (116 instances). Lexical verbs predominate both in canonical forms and alternative ones.

Table 17 below sets out the distribution of second person plural pronouns with lexical verbs in Asian Englishes.

Table 17. Distribution of second person plural pronouns with lexical verbs in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[11]	46 (48.42)	36 (72)	72 (79.1)	20 (60.6)	174 (64.7)
You all	46 (48.42)	8 (16)	4 (4.4)	-	58 (21.5)
You guys	2 (2.1)	-	15 (16.5)	13 (39.4)	30 (11.2)
You people	1 (1.1)	6 (12)	-	-	7 (2.6)
Total	95	50	91	33	269

The results from Table 17 reflect the tendencies that we have been observing in previous tables: SingE is the variety which shows the strongest competition between both pronominal forms, and this is also shown in the distribution of the canonical *you* and *you all* in simple VPs. Both forms appear in 46 instances. In the rest of the AsEs, *you* is the most frequent form, being followed by *you guys* in HKE and PhilE.

Table 18 below shows the distribution of second person plural pronouns with auxiliary verbs.

[11] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

Table 18 Distribution of second person pronouns with auxiliary verbs in Asian Englishes

Form	SingE	IndE	HKE	PhilE	Total
You[12]	16 (53.3)	8 (61.6)	42 (89.4)	22 (84.6)	88 (75.9)
You all	13 (43.3)	4 (30.7)	-	-	17 (14.6)
You guys	1 (3.4)	-	5 (10.6)	4 (15.4)	10 (8.6)
You people	-	1 (7.7)	-	-	1 (0.9)
Total	30	13	47	26	116

The results from Table 18 show a similar distribution to those of Table 17 in that canonical forms are favoured with auxiliary verbs, therefore in complex VPs in the Asian varieties, with the exception of SingE, the only variety in which the canonical form and *you all* closely compete with each other (53. 3% vs. 43.3% respectively).

7. CONCLUSIONS

[12] The numbers in this table have already been normalized to 800,000 words.

This project has examined the use of new forms for the second person plural in Asian varieties of English as represented in the spoken component of the ICE. The findings here confirm the existence of alternative forms for the second person plural other than the canonical *you* in the four varieties, so *you* is no longer the only form used to refer to the second person plural reality.

Therefore, the following variants were searched in the four Asian Englishes: *you* (as second person plural pronoun), *you all*, *you guys*, *you people*, *youse*, and *you lot*. Both *youse* and *you lot* were not found in the search, limiting my study to only four variants. Regarding each variety, other forms than *you* occur in all of them, being SingE the one that displays a higher incidence of alternative forms, followed by IndE, PhilE and, finally, HKE, the variety with the highest attestation of the canonical *you*.

As to the distribution of forms, SingE is the only variety that presents the four variants, namely *you*, *you all*, *you guys*, *you people*. In IndE, one finds only the existence of the canonical form and the alternative forms *you all* and *you people*. HKE, on the other hand, has, apart from the canonical form, the forms *you all* and *you guys* with no instances of *you people*. PhilE, by contrast, only has the existence of two forms: the canonical one and *you guys*.

Regarding SingE, we witness how the canonical *you* and the alternative form *you all* closely compete to be the unmarked form in different syntactic positions both as subject and non-subject (direct object, indirect object and complement of preposition), especially in the latter context. Concerning clause type, in declarative sentences SingE shows again a competition between the canonical *you* and *you all*; by contrast, non-declarative sentences have *you all* as its majority pronoun, showing that marked contexts favor alternative forms. In terms of polarity, affirmative sentences in SingE have again a dual competition between *you* and *you all*, negative sentences have *you all* as its most frequent pronoun. Similar results are found regarding the variable type of verb in SingE where both *you all* and the canonical *you* closely compete to be the most frequent form both with lexical verbs and auxiliary verbs.

The next variety, IndE, presents 30.2% of alternative forms namely *you all* and *you people,* and no instances of *you guys* being the canonical *you* the preferred form. Results show that in terms of syntactic function, *you* is the most frequent form both in subject

and non-subject positions. Regarding type of clauses, both declarative and non-declarative clauses appear to have a major number of canonical *you* in IndE, and the same happens in affirmative and negative clauses which show a tendency to have the canonical *you* as its most frequent form. In terms of type of verb, lexical verbs tend to go with canonical forms, whereas auxiliary verbs show the contrary and they are associated in IndE with the alternative form *you all*.

Interestingly enough, although India has been a country which has a very conservative written English, using constructions and expressions that even in British English are stylistically marked, the study shows that IndE is the second variety after SingE with more variation from the four analyzed, having the alternative forms *you all* and *you people* competing with the canonical *you* Indeed, IndE shows more variation that its superstrate BrE, taking into account the fact that no instances of alternative forms other than *you* were found in the search of the spoken component of the ICE GB (section 6).

Moreover, when looking at pronominal variation in IndE, it is likely that the dominant substrate language, in this case, Hindi, plays a role in the appearance of a new form for the second person plural referent: *you people*. If one takes into account that there is a similar pronoun in the substrate language, namely: *tum log* literally meaning you people (McGregor 1972: 14), this may influence the appearance of an equivalent translation in IndE being *you people* one of the pronouns used to refer to second person plural reality. This pronoun, in fact, presents the highest numbers in IndE and occurs almost exclusively in IndE, with the exception of only an example in SingE.

As for PhilE, it presents similar figures to that of IndE, having 28.8% of alternative forms and 71.2% of the canonical *you.* However, in this variety we find the only presence of *you guys* as a possible alternative to the canonical *you.* The fact that PhilE has *you guys* as the only competitor for the canonical *you* may show the strong influence of its superstrate American English, since in AmE *you guys* is one of the most frequent alternative forms for the second person plural (see Heyd 2010: 60). In terms of syntactic function, PhilE also shows a competition in terms of subject between the canonical form *you* and the alternative form *you guys*. In non-subject position, however, the most frequent form is *you guys* outnumbering the canonical *you*.

In both declarative and non-declarative constructions, *you* outnumbers the alternative form *you guys* and the same happens when looking at polarity, since *you* is the preferred form in both affirmative and negative contexts. Regarding type of verb, it follows the results obtained in type of construction and polarity since both auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs show the canonical *you* as the most frequent form for the second person plural. The results from PhilE show that *you* is the default form for the second person plural, irrespective of the context, with the exception of non-subject forms, in which *you guys* becomes the favorite variant. In this respect, PhilE behaves like SingE, in the sense that alternative forms are preferred in marked environments.

Regarding HKE, the variety in which alternative forms have the lowest incidence, the canonical *you* dominates all contexts, reaching a frequency of 80% in most of them: it is important to notice that alternative forms, both *you guys* and especially *you all*, also occur in all the analyzed contexts, but, unlike the case of SingE, do not show preference for any of them.

Following Schneider's Dynamic Model, which classifies varieties in terms of its development, IndE, HKE and PhilE belong to phase 3, of nativization and SingE is the only variety in phase 4 of endonormative stabilization. As seen in section 3.4, from phase 3 there is nativization of grammatical features, and the use of alternative pronominal forms for the second person plural can serve as an illustration of it.

Similarly, according to Kachru's model, all the varieties analyzed are members of the Outer Circle, which, as seen in section 3.1., are norm-developing varieties. This corroborates the use of new pronominal forms for the second person plural.

Our findings also show that in IndE, PhilE and HKE there is variation in terms of second person plural pronouns, although *you* outnumbers the alternative forms. IndE is the one that presents a wider range of pronouns with the alternative forms *you all* and *you people,* the latter being a very peculiar pronoun only found in IndE due to probable L1 transfer of a similar pronoun found in Hindi. Both PhilE and HKE present *you guys* as the alternative form chosen to compete with the canonical form, although in PhilE *you guys* is the only one available, this fact showing the strong influence of its superstrate AmE.

Surprisingly enough, although both IndE and HKE have as its superstrate BrE, being the product of British colonization, HKE has as its second most frequent form the form *you guys* which as has been stated above, is a recurrent pronoun in the USA, and the only alternative form present in PhilE whose superstrate is AmE. Furthermore, results also indicate that although the eWAVE said that it was not known whether the feature "alternative forms for the second person plural other than *you*" existed in HKE and it was not specifically stated in PhilE, alternative forms were indeed found in both varieties.

8. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In this study I tried to compare the appearance of alternative forms for the second person plural other than *you* in Asian Englishes with their two superstrates BrE and AmE. However, regarding the substrate BrE, the ICE Corpora GB showed no instances of alternative forms and I decided not to compare BrE with ESAES. On the other hand, the ICE Corpora USA spoken component is not available yet, so no comparisons with it could be made.

Similarly, I could not analyze if there has been an increase in time of the alternative forms of the second person plural. The information provided in the corpus only states that the texts go back to 1990 or later.

9. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It would be interesting in future studies to consider other sociolinguistic variables that can affect the appearance of alternative forms for the second person plural in World Englishes such as gender, age, education, etc. Thus, in this study I have not considered sociolinguistic variables since not every ICE corpus includes this type of information and for future studies I would need to carry out questionnaires to find out information about these variables.

Similarly, I have studied the appearance of alternative forms other than *you* for the second person pronoun in the spoken component of the ICE Corpus in Asian Englishes; however, looking at the written component could also be another question for further research. Likewise, I intend to extend this study to other emergent varieties of English, such as Jamaican English or Kenyan English, also available in the ICE project.

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11. APPENDIX

Article

English getting lost in translation in Philippines

By Carlos H. Conde

Published: Monday, August 13, 2007 THE NEW YORK TIMES

MANILA — "We grow our hogs in our own farms so you're sure to get meat that is grown."

"The city's voice is soft like solitudes."

"He found his friend clowning himself around."

"He seemed to be waiting for someone, not a blood relation, much less a bad blood."

Such phrases, lifted from government-approved textbooks used in Filipino public schools, are reinforcing fears that crucial language skills are degenerating in a country that has long prided itself on having some of the world's best English speakers. At a time when English is widely considered an advantage in global competitiveness for any country, many fear this former U.S. colony is slipping.

English is an official language here, along with the native Tagalog. Yet the U.S. State Department, in its "2007 Investment Climate Statement," released this month, concluded: "English-language proficiency, while still better than in other Southeast Asian nations, is declining in the Philippines."

For years now, Antonio Calipjo Go, an academic and a supervisor of the Marian School of Quezon City, a private school here, has waged a campaign against bad textbook English.

"I pity our children who are being fed these errors," Go said in an interview. "This is one of the reasons why the level of education in our country is worsening."

Go says he has notified the Philippine Department of Education of dozens of English-language errors in all seven approved social studies textbooks. In January, he testified at a Senate hearing on the subject. And he has written to the World Bank, which has granted an 800 million peso, or $17.5 million, loan to the Philippines government for textbooks.

But when the new school year opened in June, the books were unchanged.

So Go took out advertisements in newspapers detailing the errors. In July, he paid for a full page in the country's largest-circulation newspaper, the Philippine Daily Inquirer, enumerating errors in two textbooks.

He titled the ad "Learnings for make benefit glorious nation of Philippines," after the movie "Borat," whose title character has a less-than-perfect grasp of English.

"I do not wish to pick a fight with anybody," Go declared in his ad. "I only know that if I kept this to myself, the errors that have been in these books all these years will continue to harm the hearts and minds of more generations of Filipino schoolchildren. The errors must be corrected. Now."

Go estimates that more than 75 percent of all elementary textbooks in public schools contain errors.

"And I am being kind with that estimate," he said. Aside from the linguistic errors, he finds other aspects problematic, pointing out a textbook that extols the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

Go has been sued for libel by two textbook authors and a publisher, though the lawsuit of the publisher, Phoenix Publishing, has been dismissed. He is undeterred. "I refuse to accept that we cannot do something to solve problems like this," he said in the interview. "I cannot accept that."

Go is far from the only person worried about textbook errors and the deterioration of English skills in the Philippines.

Business chambers, foreign and domestic, have voiced concern that the decreasing quality of English could hurt the country's competitiveness. Three years ago, the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines launched a campaign called "English is cool!" to address this deterioration.

Last year, the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce of the Philippines, in a workshop on how to increase foreign investment in the country, identified "improved English proficiency" as a key area that needed improvement.

The U.S. State Department, in its recent report, said the "the comparative advantages the Philippines once enjoyed vis-à-vis its neighbors in attracting foreign investment need to be restored in order to attract more investment and support higher growth."

One reason English proficiency, or its lack, has received so much attention here is because of the call-center boom and the fact that Filipino workers with a good command of the language stand a better chance of being recruited for jobs abroad.

For years, foreign governments, particularly the United States, and donor agencies like the World Bank have been providing assistance to the Philippine educational system, and some of the programs have involved the production of textbooks. This month, Australia announced that it was giving a $10 million loan to Manila to improve basic education.

Educators do not deny a problem with the quality of English in textbooks and instruction, but point out that there are other, perhaps more pressing, problems in the schools.

Among these are poor skills in science and math; the lack of teachers, many of whom are being recruited abroad for higher pay; a lack of equipment; and overcrowded classrooms, with some holding nearly 100 students.

Some critics say that the Education Department itself is part of the problem. The Senate hearings in January focused not only on the poor quality of textbooks, but on allegations

that the process of bidding for textbook contracts is flawed, with a small cartel of publishers controlling 75 percent of the contracts.

Last month, in response to Go's ads, Education Secretary Jesli Lapus issued a statement saying that the department had implemented stringent measures to improve the quality of textbooks.

He said he had banned those who evaluated the error-filled textbooks from future book projects. An oversight committee has also been created to address issues concerning these textbooks.

On Monday, Franklin Sunga, an under secretary of education, predicted that the situation would improve. "There will be a new batch of English textbooks soon and we hope that these errors will not be repeated."

He said the department was improving its evaluation of these books, contracting the services, for instance, of academics and evaluators from the country's top universities and colleges.